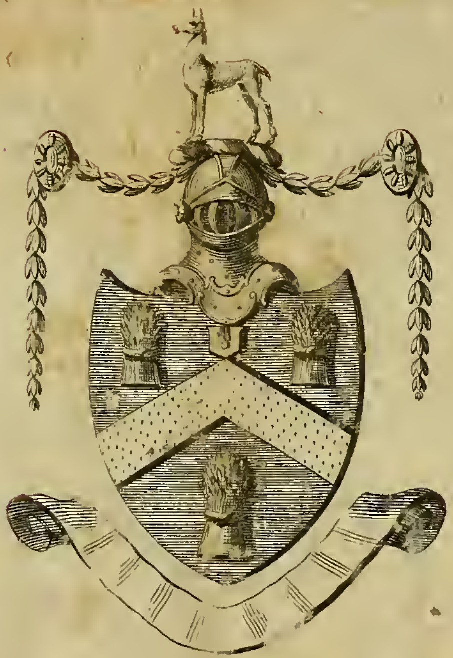

R

FROM THE
PERSONAL LIBRARY OF
JAMES BUELL MUNN
1890 – 1967
1352

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

ffrances Askham

THE MEMOIRES OF Sir James Melvil

Of *HAL-HILL:*

CONTAINING

An Impartial Account

Of the moſt Remarkable

AFFAIRS of STATE

During the laſt Age, not mention'd by other Hiſtorians:

More particularly Relating to the KINGDOMS

OF

England and Scotland,

Under the REIGNS

Of Queen *Elizabeth*,

Mary Queen of *Scots*,

AND

King *JAMES*.

In all which Tranſactions the Author was Perſonally and Publickly concern'd.

Now publiſhed from the Original Manuſcript.

By *GEORGE SCOTT*, Gent.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. H.* for *Robert Boulter* at the *Turks-head* in *Corn-hill*,
againſt the *Royal-Exchange*, 1683.

R-B
DA 785
.M53
1683
Fol

THE
EPISTLE
TO THE
READER.

AS there is ſcarce any kind of Civil Knowledge more neceſſary or profitable than Hiſtory; (*which is therefore very aptly ſtiled by the Ancients,* The Miſtreſs of Life,) *ſo of all ſorts of Hiſtory there is none ſo uſeful as that which unlocking the* Cabinet, *brings forth the* L*etters, private Inſtructions, Conſultations and Negotiations of Miniſters of State; for then we ſee things in a clear light, ſtript of all their paints and diſguiſings, and diſcover thoſe* hidden Springs *of Affairs, which give motion to all the vaſt* Machines *and ſtupendious Revolutions of Princes and Kingdoms, that make ſuch a noiſe on the Theatre of the World, and amaze us with unexpected ſhiftings of Scenes and daily Viciſsitudes.*

Of this latter kind are thoſe Memoires *wherewith we here Oblige the World, being the many Years Tranſactions and Experiences of an eminent publick Miniſter in his long and faithful Services under, and Negotiations with ſeveral Princes, and at as tickliſh a Juncture and important Criſis of Affairs as could almoſt happen in any Age: for having upon the peruſal not only found the ſame to contain many remarkable paſſages, not met with in any Hiſtories of thoſe times, and in ſuch Occurrents as they have touched upon, to be much more exact and full in divers conſiderable Circumſtances; But obſerved it likewiſe to be furniſht with much excellent, plain, honeſt advice* (*delivered by the By*) *which might be of great advantage to Princes, and both Examples and Precepts whereby their Councellors and Favourites may be Caution'd what juſt, free and generous Meaſures they ought to take, if they would not tread the ſame Precipices, whereby others have Shipwrackt both their Maſters and themſelves, I could not but apprehend my ſelf obliged to Communicate ſuch a Treaſure to the Publick, as well for a ge-*

neral good, as in ſome meaſure to diſcharge my Devoir to the memory of the worthy Author, from whom I have the honour to be deſcended.

Three things there are Eſſential to any Hiſtory, and which chiefly recommend it to the eſteem of judicious Readers.

1. *That the ſubject matter be real, and of conſiderable moment. Women and Children may be delighted with, and dote upon Romances, and ſilly Legends; or liſten with attentive Admiration to the Wars of the Pigmies, and Adventures of the Faiery Land. But men of ſence always expect ſolid Tranſactions, and ſuch ſubſtantial Examples as may be of advantage to improve their judgment in Civil Wiſdom, and the neceſſary conduct of Life.*

2. *That the Author be capable of knowing what he ſpeaks, and have Opportunities to diſcover the Certainty, and full Circumſtances of thoſe Affairs, whereof he undertakes to Treat.*

3. And laſtly, *His Honeſty, That he be a man of impartial Veracity, and firm Reſolution to obſerve inviolable that prime Law of Hiſtory,* Ne quid falſi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat. *Not to dare deliver any falſhood, nor to conceal any Truth.*

All which Characters are happily met in theſe Memoires.

The matters contain'd, are both Lofty and Weighty, for they Treat of the Actions and Sufferings of Princes, and perſons of the firſt Rank: Open the cloſe Conſultations and Intrigues of ſeveral of the ableſt Miniſters of State at that time in Chriſtendom, and ſhew on what Hinges the greateſt Affairs were turned, and by what Artifices managed, ſo as to be either accompliſht or Defeated.

Nor could any Gentleman have better Advantages to be acquainted with the moſt private and reſerved Scenes of thoſe Paſſages which here he delivers to the World, ſince in general of all that he writes, he may properly ſay, Quorum pars magna fui, *They are matters within his own Circle, and declare ſuch as muſt of neceſſity fall within his own notice, ſince through his hands, and he himſelf had a principal part in the manage and tranſacting of them; being a perſon concern'd in the moſt knotty Affairs (eſpecially relating to* Scotland) *during his time: And therefore as* Ocularis Teſtis, *his work may Challenge that Credit which many other Authors do but* begg *from the Charity of their Courteous Readers; at leaſt deſerves* *as much or more eſteem as any other Writers of that time, who in reſpect of him were but* Auriti.

The Author was deſcended of one of the moſt honourable Families of the Kingdom of Scotland, *as being Third Son to the Lord of* Kaeth, *and at Fourteen years of Age was ſent by the Queen Regent to be Page of Honour to her Daughter* Mary *married to the Dauphin of* France. *But by her allowance he entred into the Service of the Duke of* Montmorance (*Great Conſtable of* France, *chief Miniſter to* Henry *the Second*) *who earneſtly deſired him from her Majeſty, having a fancy for the Youth's promiſing parts; he was Nine years Entertain'd and Imploy'd by him, and when he grew up to riper Years and try'd Abilities in matters of greateſt Importance, an honourable Penſion for his greater encouragement was ſetled upon him by that King.*

Then being deſirous for his further Accompliſhment to Travel, having his Queens leave and his Maſters permiſſion for that purpoſe: But paſſing through Germany *he was detain'd by the perſuaſion of the Elector Palatine, and at his earneſt intreaties neceſſitated to condeſcend to attend at his Court, where he Reſided Three years, being by him imployed on ſeveral Embaſſies. After which, obtaining his conſent to proſecute his former intentions of further Travel, he viſited* Venice, Rome, *and the moſt famous Cities of* Italy. *Returning through* Switzerland *to the Electors Court, he there found a Call from Queen* Mary, *then returned to her Kingdom of* Scotland, *after the death of her Husband King* Francis, *to attend her Service.*

The Queen Mother of France *at the ſame time had offer'd him a large Penſion, and profitable Offices, to engage him to wait upon her Service at the Court of* France; *ſhe finding it her intereſt at that Juncture to keep good Correſpondence with the Proteſtant Princes in* Germany, *and knowing him to be moſt acceptable to all of them. But though it appeared moſt advantagious to his private Fortunes to have accepted of her noble Offers; yet in this and at all other times he prefer'd his Loyalty to his Intereſt, and eſteem'd himſelf engag'd in Duty to ſerve his natural Princeſs rather than a Stranger.*

Upon his arrival in Scotland *he was admitted a Privy Councellor, and Gentleman of her Chamber, being continually imploy'd by her Majeſty in matters of her greateſt concernments, till her unhappy confinement in* Lockleven: *All which he diſcharged with an exact fidelity, and had ſhe taken his ſound Advice, many of her misfortunes might have been avoided.*

He was afterwards Noticed by all the Four ſucceſſive Regents in a ſpecial manner, and intruſted by them with Negotiations of greateſt moment; Though after the Queens impriſonment he had ever owned the King's ſide.

When his Majeſty King James *came to the Government, he was eſpecially recommended by the Queen, then Priſoner in* England, *to him as one moſt faithful, and capable of doing him Service. Whereupon he was likewiſe by his Majeſty admitted a Member of his moſt Honourable Privy Council, and of his Exchequer; as alſo made Gentleman of his Chamber, continuing ever in favour and Imployment till his Majeſties paſſage into* England, *to receive his Hereditary Right, the Crown of that Kingdom, upon the death of Queen* Elizabeth.

The King would gladly have taken him along with him thither, offering him conſiderable advancements there: But being now ſtricken in years, and deſirous to Retreat from the troubles of the World to ſpend the remainder of his days in Contemplation, begged his Majeſties permiſſion thereto. However, after the King's going for London, *he found himſelf in Duty engag'd once to wait upon his Majeſty in that Kingdom, and accordingly went thither, and was graciouſly received; and having attended there ſome weeks, humbly giving his Majeſty his beſt advice, no Court allurements (whereof he had great ſtore) could prevail with him to alter his former Reſolutions of privacy; So that he return'd to his own Houſe, where, as in Harbour, reflecting on the paſs'd Voyage of his Life, and all the various Weather, and difficult Storms of Publick Affairs, wherein he had been concern'd; to inform the World of the true State of thoſe Tranſactions, and to direct others (eſpecially his Children) how to conduct themſelves if call'd to ſuch Services, he with his own hand drew up the following* Memoires. *How far he deduced them I cannot certainly determine; 'tis very probable he had given an occount of all till the going of the King to* England, *though this Copy extend not ſo far: However thou haſt all that I have, and nothing more then what is the Author's, for I ſhould eſteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his Name. And I hope the Reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily Retriev'd, than be offended at me for not furniſhing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us.*

And indeed I was not a little encouraged to this Publication by Reflecting on the wonderful preſervation of ſo much of it, after ſo many Years, and its then coming ſo Providentially to my hand, it having

having found the Caſtle of Edinburgh *an Aſylum till the Year 1660, which yet had not been able to afford ſhelter to the Publick Records of the Kingdom, from the hands of Tyrannical Uſurpers: Though I have not met with any Information by what way it came thither, far leſs how ſecured ſo long a ſpace, and amidſt ſo many Confuſions, being there recommended to no Man's particular Care, but expoſed to the mercy of the Rabble: Whence it was wonderfully reſcued by Mr.* Robert Trail *late Miniſter of the Gray-Fryars Church in* Edinburgh, *when Impriſon'd there, to whom the Author's handwriting was exactly known. This Mr.* Trail *counting it an happineſs to have lighted on ſo great a Rarity, knowing the Worth and Abilities of the Author, remitted it to Sir* James Melvil *of* Hal-hil, *the Author's Grand-Child: From whence it was derived to me, and having peruſed it, and thought I ſhould be highly injurious to the Publick, if I did not Communicate it to the World; together with the Author's following Epiſtle to his Son in the nature of a Dedication, wherein as he ſhews his deep inſight into the Intrigues of Princes Courts; ſo it likewiſe gives an evident Demonſtration of his ſincerity in what he has herein Delivered; and of his firm Affection to vertue and honeſty, and deteſtation of vice, and thoſe flattering Arts whereby evil and Self-ſeeking Councellors have often abuſed the beſt of Princes.*

This is all I thought neceſſary to Advertiſe thee of, touching this Publication, and ſo leave it to thy Candid peruſal.

George Scott.

THE AUTHOR TO HIS SON.

Dear SON,

SEeing thou haſt ſhewn they ſelf ſo willing to ſatisfie my expectations of the following, and obſerving many of my former *Precepts* during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy requeſt the more gladly, to put in writing for thy better memory, ſeveral paſſages which thou haſt heard me rehearſe concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the moſt part of *Europe*, from the Age of fourteen years till this preſent hour; together with the proſperous ſucceſs, and hard accidents happed to me, hoping that thou wilt be ſo wiſe as to help thy ſelf in time by my faults, and not wait upon the hurtful experience of the common ſort, ſeeing no man can ſhew the right way better than he who hath oft-times chanced upon By-rodes; aſſuring thee, that, next unto the ſpecial favour of God, nothing ſtood me in ſo much ſtead as the early embracing of *unbought experience*, by obſerving the ſtumbling Errours of others. Neither did I ever find any thing more dangerous than the frequent ſlighting to notice any ſeen example, which was always accompanied with over late Repentance.

The moſt part of things which I purpoſe to ſet down preſently, are certain old written Memorials which were lying beſide me in ſundry parcels, treating of matters wherein I have been imployed my ſelf by ſundry Princes, or which I have ſeen, or obſerved being in their Countries (as the purpoſes of themſelves will declare) to ſerve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy Brother, concerning the Service of Princes, and medling in their Affairs; which I could not eſchew, for I ſought not them, but they me. I enforced my ſelf to ſerve them more carefully, diligently and faithfully than any of my Companions, whereby I won greateſt favour with thoſe who were *Wiſe*, *Grave*, *Aged* and *Experimented*; as with the Prince *Elector Pallatine*, and the old Duke of *Momorancie*, Conſtable of *France*, who had the whole Rule and Government of the Country under King *Henry* the Second, his Maſter and mine; who were ſo conſtant, that their favour laſted ſo long as I remained in their Service; not without extream and dangerous *Envy* of ſuch of my Companions as were naturally inclined to that vile Vice, whom I took great pains by patience, preſents and humility to gain; obliging them by that carriage to lay aſide part of their malice. But when it chanced me after to ſerve Princes of *Younger Years*, and of leſs Experience, at the firſt by the like diligence, care and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the reſt of their Servants; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of ſuch as could ſubtilly creep into their favour, by flattery and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowſhip, every one of them ſetting out the other, as *meeteſt* and *ableſt* for the Service of their Prince, to the wrack of him and his Country; craving the Prince to be ſecret, and not to Communicate his Secrets to any but their Society. Thus the Princes good qualities being ſmother'd with ſuch a Company, were commonly led after the *Paſſions* and *Particularities* of thoſe, who ſhot only at their *own marks*: Some of them continually poſſeſſing his *Ear*, and debarring there-from all honeſt, true and plain ſpeakers; ſo that no more hope could be left of a gracious Government, nor place for good men to help their Prince and Country, where-through fell out many foul, ſtrange and *ſad Accidents*, as may be afterward ſeen and read: Princes miſuſed, and abuſed, their Country robbed, their beſt and trueſt Servants wracked, and the wicked inſtruments at laſt periſhed with all their high and fine pretences; others, ay ſuch-like, ſucceeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and diſcreet, becauſe of the deſtruction of thoſe who went before them; but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain and ambitious pretences, obtaining the like Tragical reward. For my part, albeit I had ſeen, and oft-times read of the wrack and backward rewards of all ſuch true, faithful Servants and Councellours, as were moſt careful of the Weal and Safety of their Prince, in reſiſting and gainſtanding the devices of the *wicked ſort*, and ſometimes minding the Prince not to ſuffer himſelf to be led by thoſe who commit ſo many wrongs, and errours at their Appetite, yet I left not off from what I thought my *Duty*, neither for *Fear* nor *Danger*, to oppoſe my ſelf continually to the *falſe fetches* of ſuch Minions, until, I muſt confeſs rather following the *Extremity* than the right *Midſt*, I loſt my Credit with the Prince, and Tint my reward, repoſing over-much truſt upon their conſtancy and my good Service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honeſt Men; with over-late Repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monſieur *de Bouſſie* when he was left and miſliked by his Maſter, crying out, *Alas, wherefore ſhould Men be earneſt to ſurpaſs their Neighbours in worthineſs and fidelity, ſeeing that Princes, who get the fruits of our Labours, like not to hear of plainneſs, but of pleaſant Speeches, and are eaſily altered without occaſion upon the trueſt Servants?* I perceive well that to continue in their favour they ſhould not be ſerved with Uprightneſs, but with Wylineſs; and inſtead of uſing free Language for their Honour and Preſervation, their Servants ſhould frame and accommodate themſelves to their *Pleaſure* and *Will*; which may be eaſily done by the dulleſt ſort of Men; but my *daft opinion* was, that I might ſtand by *Honeſty* and *Vertue*, which I find now to be but a Vain Imagination, and a Scholaſtical Diſcourſe, unmeet to bring Men to any profitable *Preferment*: And yet my nature will not ſuffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the ſame Mind and Nature, and by a juſt Call and Command, firſt of the Queen his Majeſty's Mother, and afterward of himſelf, having more Matter and greater Warrant then many others, as well to admoniſh, advertiſe and reprove the Prince to gain-ſtand all evil Inſtruments, took the more freedom, finding my ſelf thereto in Duty obliged, againſt the Rule given by *Seneca* to *Lucullus*, ſaying, *If thou deſireſt to be agreeable to Great Princes, do them many Services, and ſpeak to them few words.* *Plato* was of the ſame opinion, the favour of Princes being obtained with great pain and travel, and retained with great difficulty; therefore ſhould the wiſe Courtier be careful of offending them, either by geſture, word or deed; for being once in *diſgrace* with them, they may well forgive, but they ſhall never be ſo great with them again do what they will. Sometimes a Man man diſcreetly put the Prince in remembrance of his long and good Service, but caſt not up thy Service, nor be importunate in demanding rewards; therefore be not ſo audacious as to find *fault* with thy Prince's proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertiſements without good grounds of being credited; for Princes notice not any thing but what is told them by their *Favourites* and *Minions*, who commonly ſeem to allow and take pleaſure of whatſomever *Recreation* they find the Prince inclined to, not as by way of *flattery*, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleaſure to take pains to pleaſe the Prince; they never appear miſcontent although he do not *Reward* them in due time, they never challenge him of *breach of Promiſe* in caſe he break it. In many of theſe Rules I confeſs I have over-ſhot my ſelf, for too great fervency towards the Princes Service, having never minded my own particular advancement and profit: For otherwiſe I ſhould have at the earneſt deſire of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, my old and great acquaintances while I was reſiding at the Court of *France*, titled in the Queens Ear, that her Rebellious Subjects, who had at their own hands, without her Authority, changed Religion, ſhould have been exemplarily puniſhed as Rebels and Trayters: That if ſhe condeſcended to acquieſce to the eſtabliſhing the *Reformed Religion*, it would be conſtructed as meanneſs of Spirit, and that ſhe wanted Authority to curb ſuch a mutinous People: That it was below her at the arrogant deſire of her Nobility, and to remove the idle jealouſies of her other Subjects, to lay aſide *Rixio*, as being derogatory from her honour, that ſhe could not have liberty to keep about her what Servants ſhe pleaſed, ſeeing hence there might be ground to alledge, there were other bad deſigns to follow, when in the firſt place they deſired to ſeparate from her, ſuch as they knew would be moſt truſty to her, and in whom ſhe could moſt confide. This kind of Language would probably have moſt ſuited her Majeſties humour, and would have procured to my ſelf great Bribes, from *Rixio* and his Popiſh friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a *True Friend* to her Majeſty, to acquaint her, that ſeeing her Subjects had now imbraced the Proteſtant Religion, looking upon the Popiſh Principles as *Damning*, it was not her intereſt to do any thing that could give them any jealouſie that ſhe intended to alter their Religion; that as the Entertaining of *Rixio* gave to all ſuch, ſome apparent ground of harbouring ſuch apprehenſions, he being a known Enemy to their *Religion*; that having ſo much of her favour, he would undoubtedly uſe his endeavours to perſwade her to Re-eſtabliſh that Religion, which ſhe her ſelf profeſſed; ſo it gave juſt ground of diſcontent to the *Nobility*, who would look upon any extraordinary honour confer'd by her Majeſty upon a *Stranger*, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to ſerve her as he could be; and reflecting upon their *Loyalty*, as if ſhe had more truſt to place in a Stranger then in her own native Country-men, and born Subjects. Had I not more regarded my Princeſs her Intereſt, then mine own, I ſhould have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl of *Bothwel*, when he deſired me to ſubſcribe with the reſt of his flatterers that Paper wherein they declared it was her Majeſties intereſt to *Marry* the ſaid Earl, but I choſe rather to lay my ſelf open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life, and tell her Majeſty, that thoſe who had ſo adviſed her, were betrayers of her honour for their own ſelfiſh ends, ſeeing her marrying a Man commonly judged her Husbands murtherer, would leave a Taſh upon her name, and give too much ground of jealouſie, that ſhe had conſented to that *foul deed*. I wanted not fair offers from *Randolph* and *Killegrew*, Reſidents here from the *Court of England*, if I would have in ſo far complied with their deſigns, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts, which I could not conceal, finding them ſo deſtructive to the Kingdom. I had the fair occaſion of making a large fortune to my ſelf, if I would have gone along with the Earl of *Arran*, by Counſelling the King's

Majeſty to follow his violent advices; but finding them ſo far contrary to his intereſt, I did think my ſelf ingaged to warn his Majeſty that he was a dangerous man, who gave him ſuch advices; that if he followed the ſame, he would run himſelf upon inevitable Precipices; that his Majeſty's hearkening to the Duke of *Lennox* and him, the one a Papiſt, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealouſies in his Subjects minds, which might produce dangerous effects. This freedom, and many times the like, I took; which though his Majeſty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted me ſtore of Enemies: But it was always my Principle, rather to hazard my ſelf by plain ſpeech, when 'twas neceſſary, than to expoſe my Maſter to danger, by ſilence or baſe flattery. And though the Common Practice which I mention'd e're while, may ſeem to thrive beſt in ſome Courts for a time, yet under Grave and Wiſe Princes, and at long-run, the honeſt Maximes will prove moſt acceptable and ſafe. Therefore I willingly opened theſe things to thee, that thou mayſt as well know what is uſually done, as what ought to be. There is a certain diſcretion to be uſed, that is free both from Sawcyneſs and Aſſentation; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his Prince good Counſel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his diſpleaſure. This thou oughteſt to ſtudy, if ever thou be called to publique Affairs, and though thou mayſt bend with the neceſſity of ſome Accidents, and yield to the times in ſome things, though not going juſt ſo as thou would have matters to go; and humour the Prince in an ordinary buſineſs, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy Country at a more lucky Seaſon; yet be ſure that thou never Engage in any Diſloyalty, Cruelty, or Wickedneſs, nor ſuffer any thing to paſs that thou ſeeſt will tend to his Ruine or grand Prejudice, without noticing it to him in ſome humble manner; and though for that time it be diſ-reliſhing or ſlighted, yet when he ſees the Effects follow that thou admoniſhedſt him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honeſt Advice for time future: And withal thou wilt obtain the Favour and Bleſſing of Almighty God, whom thou muſt at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to ſerve, if ever thou expecteſt Bliſs in this or the other World; To whoſe Gracious Providence I Commit thee, with the hearty well Wiſhes and Beniſon of

Thy Dearly Loving Father

JAMES MELVIL.

MELVILS MEMOIRS:

In reference to

MARY Queen of *SCOTS*

AND

JAMES VI.

King *Henry* VIII. of *England* being diſcontent with the Pope, for refuſing to grant the Divorce from his wife Queen *Katharine* of *Caſtile*. For revenge he looked through his fingers at the Preachers of the Reformed Religion, who had ſtudied in *Dutch-land* under *Martin Luther*, and were lately come to *England*. In proceſs of time the hatred betwixt the King and the Pope came to ſo great a length, that he proclaimed himſelf *Head of the Kirk of England*, and diſcharged S. *Peters* Pennies to be paid from that time forth; with a ſtrict command to all his Subjects, no manner of way to acknowledge the Pope. He obtained the ſaid Divorce from his own Clergy, marrying another, which occaſioned to him the hatred of the Pope, Emperour and King of *Spain*, and all their Aſſiſtants. He again deſiring to ſtrengthen himſelf at home, conjecturing the probability of a Combination againſt him, found it his Intereſt to entertain a ſtrict Amity with *James* V. of *Scotland* his Nephew, for he was determined to Unite this whole Iſle in one Religion, and in one Empire, failing of Heirs male procreate of his own body: Having then but one Daughter called *Mary* with the divorced Queen; which Daughter he declared to be a Baſtard. Upon which conſideration Ambaſſadors are ſent thither, inviting that King to a Conference at *York*, whither *Henry* offered to come and meet him. Alledging by ſuch an Interview, matters might be more effectually condeſcended upon conduing for the mutual Intereſts of both Kingdoms, then could be expected from the endeavours of Ambaſſadors to be imployed in that Affair.

King *James* having ſeriouſly conſidered the Overture, and adviſed thereabout with his Council; upon their deliberation and advice, returns his reſolution to attend his Uncle, Time and Place appointed. With which anſwer the Ambaſſadors highly ſatisfied, return to their Maſter who rejoiced exceedingly at ſo happy a Succeſs of that matter. Whereupon great preparations are made at *York*, for the Entertainment of his Nephew with the greater Solemnity.

The Clergy of *Scotland*, ſworn Clients to the Pope having had ſeveral Conſultations hereanent, were alarm'd with this Propoſal, and

King his Father had for making War againſt the King of *England* his good Brother, was too manifeſtly felt by the whole Subjects. And little better to be looked for, in caſe a new unneceſſary War be made, for your Majeſties ſtaying away from the intended Meeting at *York.*

The King took ſuch delight in this language, that he determined to follow the advice given therein. And at his firſt meeting with the Prelates, who had then very great rule in the Country, he could not contain himſelf any longer, when they came hoping to ſee their Plots put in execution. After many ſore reproofs, that they ſhould have adviſed him to uſe ſuch cruelty upon ſo many Noble men and Barons, to the peril of his own Eſtate. *Wherefore,* ſaid he, *gave my Predeceſſors ſo many Lands and Rents to the Kirk? Was it to maintain Hauks, Dogs, and Whores to a number of idle Prieſts? The King of* England *burns, the King of* Denmark *beheads you; I ſhall ſtick you with this Whingar.* And therewith he drew out his Dagger, and they fled from his preſence in great fear. The King reſolved fully to keep his promiſe with his Uncle the King of *England,* thinking it both his honour and advancement ſo to do.

The Prelates of *Scotland,* thinking themſelves far out-ſhot, and thereby in a dangerous condition, conſulted together how to bring the King again to their opinion. They reſolved in the firſt place to offer to pay him yearly out of the Rents of the Kirk, fifty thouſand Crowns, to maintain hired Souldiers, beſides the ordinary Subjects which obey the Proclamation, in caſe the King of *England* ſhould make Wars againſt *Scotland,* becauſe of the Kings not keeping the appointment at *York.* They thought this would be an allurement to the King who liked well to be rich. Yet they concluded, that unleſs the matter were proponed and favourably interpreted to his Majeſty by ſuch as had his ear, that would not do the buſineſs. They beſtowed therefore largely of their Gold to his familiar Servants, and further promiſed unto *Oliver Sinclar*, that they ſhould cauſe him to be advanced to great Honours, and to be made Lieutenant of the whole Army againſt *England,* in caſe that King *Henry* would intend Wars againſt *Scotland.* Which they affirmed he would not, nor durſt not, having already ſo many Irons in the Fire.

This was communicated by the Prelates to the Minions at Court, and cheartfully condeſcended to by them, who had by flattery gained greateſt favour. And chiefly by drawing of fair Maidens to the King, and ſtriving to be the firſt advertiſers whoſe Daughter ſhe was, and how ſhe might be obtained; and likewiſe of mens Wives. They waited a convenient time when the Treaſurer ſhould be abſent, who was a ſtout bold man, therefore they durſt not ſpeak in his preſence. For he always offered by ſingle combat and at the point of the Sword, to maintain what he ſpoke. At this time he was abſent from Court, for the King had given the Ward and Marriage of *Kelley* in *Angus* to his ſecond Son; and he was gone there to take poſſeſſion thereof. In his abſence then this was proponed to the King, and ſo backed by *Oliver Sinclare,* and ſuch of the Clergy as had been beſt acquainted with his Majeſty, as he was induced to give ear thereto. They having added ſeveral other perſuaſions, at ſuch times as they brought unto him fair Maidens, and mens Wives. Then they took occaſion in the next place, to ſhew his Majeſty that the Laird of *Grange* his Treaſurer, was alſo become a Heretick,and that he had always a NewTeſtament in Engliſh in his Poutch. And likewiſe that he was become ſo proud,and puft up by his Majeſties favour, that no man might abide him. And that he was ſo extream greedy, that he was unmeet to be Treaſurer; and too bold to have procured for his ſecond Son the rich Ward and Marriage of *Kelley* worth Twenty thouſand pound. The King anſwered, *That he eſteemed him to be a plain frank Gentleman, that he loved him ſo well, that he would give him again the ſaid Ward and Marriage for a word of his mouth.* The Prior of *Pittenweem* replied and ſaid, *Sir the heir of* Kelley *is a luſty fair Laſs, and I dare pledge my life, that if your Majeſty will ſend for her preſently, that he ſhall refuſe to ſend her to you.*

The King affirming ſtill the contrary, there was a Miſſive written. And the Prelates and their Faction deviſed,that the ſaid Prior of *Pittenweem* ſhould carry the Letter, and bring over the Maiden-heir of *Kelly* to the King. But the Treaſurer, who knew him to be his deadly enemy, refuſed to deliver her to him. Alledging the ſaid Prior to have been all his days a vile Whoremaſter,having deflowred divers Maidens,therefore he thought him an unfit Meſſenger. Who was ſo glad as he, to return with this backward anſwer. He and his Aſſociates kindled up the King in ſo great choler againſt the Treaſurer,handling the matter ſo finely and hotly, that they obtained a Warrant to charge the Treaſurer to Ward within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Which they forgot not to do,at his firſt coming to Court. He again gheſſed that leeſings would be made againſt him, therefore uſed great diligence to be with the King. And notwithſtanding of their charge, paſt peartly in to his Majeſty, who was at his Supper in *Edinburg*; but the King looked down upon him, and would not ſpeak to him, nor know him. He nevertheleſs ſteps forward, and ſaid, *Sir what offence have I done,who had ſo much of your favour when I parted from you with your permiſſion?* The King anſwered, *Why did you refuſe to ſend me the Maiden whom I wrote for, and gave deſpiteful language to him I ſent for her?* *Sir*, ſaid he, *there is none about your Majeſty dare avow any ſuch thing in my face. As for the Maiden, I ſaid to the Prior of* Pittenweem, *that I was well enough to be the Meſſenger my ſelf to convey her to your Majeſty; but thought him unmeet, whom I knew to be a forcer of Women, and the greateſt deflowrer of Wives and Maidens in* Scotland. The King ſaid, *Haſt thou then brought the Gentlewoman with thee? Yes Sir,* ſaid he. *Alaſs*, ſaith the King, *they have ſet out ſo many leeſings againſt thee, that they have obtained of me a Warrant to put thee in Ward; but I ſhall mend it with a contrary command.* Then ſaid the Treaſurer lamentingly, *My Life, Sir, or Warding is a ſmall matter; but it breaks my heart that the World ſhould hear of your Majeſties facility.* For he had heard that in his abſence they had cauſed the King to ſend to *England*, and give over the intended Meeting at *York*. Whereat the King of *England* was ſo offended, in that he had been ſo publickly ſcorned and affronted, that he ſent an Army to *Scotland* to deſtroy it with Fire and Sword. Albeit the King liked nothing of this War, he was ſtill kept in hope that it ſhould tend to his great honour and advantage. And that *England* had ſo much to do as would buſie them elſewhere;ſo that they would ſoon repent them, and be compelled to ſue for Peace ere it was long. In the mean time their Gold was made ready the more to encourage the King, and large promiſes of much more, in caſe the War continued.

The King was engaged to raiſe an Army to defend his Country and Subjects, who went to that War, to ſhew their obedience much againſt their hearts. But when they perceived *Oliver Sinclare* raiſed up upon mens ſhoulders, and proclaimed Lieutenant over the whole Army at *Salway Sands*; the Lords, in diſpight that the Court and Country ſhould be governed by ſuch mean men as were Penſioners to the Prelates, refuſed to fight under ſuch a Lieutenant, but ſuffered themſelves all to be taken Priſoners. So the whole Army being overthrown, the King took thereat great diſpleaſure. There was great murmurings in the Country, that for pleaſuring the Prelates the Kingdom ſhould be thus endangered. The report whereof, and the juſtneſs of the complaint, made the King burſt out with ſome language againſt them who had given him ſo bad advice. Which was carried over ſoon to their ears, and they fearing the effects of his diſpleaſure, cauſed him to be poiſoned, having learned that Art in *Italy*, called an *Italian Poſſit*. The Cardinal *David Beaton* was with his Majeſty in the time of his death, and cauſed to be written the Form of a Teſtament at his own pleaſure, being dictated by himſelf, which upon that re ſon was afterward annulled The King of *England* could not forget this injury and diſpleaſure done him of the Kings breaking of his promiſe. He was much troubled at his death, his Wars were rather to have moved the Eſtates of *Scotland* to know that his favour and friendſhip had been better for them than his feud. He was ſtill in hope to have gained him with conſent and advice of the beſt of his Subjects to have joined in a Bond Offenſive and Defenſive. For he had received information of the Kings worthy qualities, and rare natural endowments, and entertained a marvellous great love and liking of him. Thinking he could not have left the Kingdom in a better hand, than to his own Siſters Son, neareſt in bloud unto him, and meeteſt of any to build up a fair Monarchy to be firſt begun in a manner in his own perſon. In reſpect that for his time, which he looked would be but ſhort, his Nephew would have been but his Coadjutor, and Lieutenant under him, and after him poſſeſs the whole under one Religion, one Law, and one Head. And thought that thereby *France* ſhould never afterward have the occaſion of ſtirring up the one Country againſt the other; and that the Pope ſhould be ſecluded from gathering up ſuch ſums of Silver from his Subjects, for Confirmation of Benefices, or for Bulls or Diſpenſations. For his wrath and vengeance againſt the Pope was exceeding great, who had made him many promiſes, and had broken them all, fearing as ſaid is, to offend the Emperour, who was ſo great and mighty a Prince. Therefore the King of *England* ſeeing he had now altogether loſt the hopes of the *Scots* alliance and concurrence, he compelled the Gentlemen of *England* to exchange their Lands, with the Lands of Abbies, Cloiſters, and other Temple Lands, giving them more than their own, that ſo the ſaid Lands ſhould never return to the Kirk without a manifeſt Rebellion, or a dangerous ſubverſion of the whole ſtate of the Kingdom. And to be revenged upon the ſaid Cardinal *David Beaton*, who he thought had diſappointed him of all the hope he had of *Scotland*, he dealt with Sir *George Douglaſs*, and the Earl of *Angus*, who were but lately returned out of *England*, where they had reſided during the time of their baniſhment, till the death of King *James* V.

Theſe two Brothers appearing to be of the Reformed Religion, perſuaded *Norman Leſly* Maſter of *Rothes*, the young Laird of *Grange*, and *John Leſly* of *Parkhill*, who had been perſecuted by the ſaid Cardinal for Religion, after he had taken their Preacher, Mr. *George Wiſhard*, and burnt him at St. *Andrews*. Theſe I ſay were eaſily ſtirred up to ſlay him whom they were perſuaded to be an Enemy to the true Religion, to the welfare of the Country, and to themſelves in particular.

This proud Cardinal was ſlain then in his Caſtle at S. *Andrews*, and ſo ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travel for his pretences, and ſudden death. Having been the occaſion of the death of a worthy King, who was inclined to Juſtice, and gave no credit to his Officers in their two ſpecial points, to reward and puniſh. For whoever did him good ſervice, he would ſee them rewarded, yea albeit they chanced to be abſent; and as to puniſhing of Evil Doers, ſo ſoon as he had heard the complaint, he leapt upon his Horſe, and did ride to the parties himſelf, with a few company, 'ere they could be aware of him, and he would ſee ſharp execution. So that he was deſervedly both loved and feared. He was very couragious, well favoured and ſhapen, of a middle ſtature, very able of body. But evil company fell about him, entering out of Child-hood into furious Youth enticing him to Harlotry, ſtriving who ſhould ſpie out for him the faireſt Maidens, and likewiſe at length mens Wives; with them he abuſed his body, to the offence of God and divers good Subjects. For which he was not left unpuniſhed, for he had but two young Sons and they died both within eleven hours; ſo that at his deceaſe he had but one Daughter called *Mary*, born when he was upon his Death-bed.

King *Henry* VIII. of *England*, having onely one Son called *Edward*, he and the Eſtates of both Countries, deſiring ſtill this whole Iſle of *Britain* to be united in one Monarchy, made a contract of marriage between the ſaid two, which was afterward broken upon our part, her Majeſty being tranſported unto *France* by the Weſt Seas. Whereupon enſued great War between the two Kingdoms, which was afterwards agreed upon this condition, that *Edward* ſhould marry *Elizabeth* eldeſt Daughter to *Henry* II. of *France*, and *Francis* his Son ſhould marry our Queen. My Lord *Hamilton* was advanced to the Government of the Country by the Laird of *Grange* Treaſurer, Mr. *Henry Balnears*, and others that were of the Reformed Religion, when as he appeared to be a true Goſpeller. But he had been afterward ſoon altered by the Abbot of *Paſly* his Baſtard-brother, and became a great Perſecuter of Gods Word, and had been by the perſuaſions of the ſaid Abbot and Cardinal eaſily drawn to break the ſaid Contract of Marriage made between King *Edward* and our Queen.

After that the young Queen came to *France*, there was great diſputing whether the Marriage with the Dauphine ſhould take effect or not. For at that time there were two Factions in the *French* Court, firſt the Brethren to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, as the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, brothers to our Queen Dowager, and uncles to our young Queen *Mary*, preſſed earneſtly to ſet forward the ſaid Marriage with *France*; the old Conſtable Duke of *Montmorancy*, was of opinion that it was meeteſt to give her in marriage to ſome Duke or Prince in *France*, and to ſend them both home to *Scotland* to keep that Country in good obedience. Becauſe when Princes are abſent, and far from their own, ruling their Countries by Lieutenants, moſt commonly the Subjects of ſuch Countries uſe to rebel: which if *Scotland* ſhould do, it would be hard and coſtly to get them reduced. And thereby in ſtead of making *France* the better of the Marriage with the Dauphin, it might make it to be in a far worſe caſe. The Houſe of *Guiſe* again deſiring to have their Siſters Daughter Queen of *France* to augment their reputation and credit, alledged it would be both honourable and profitable to the Crown of *France* to have this addition. And that there were Revenues in abundance to maintain Garriſons within the Kingdom, to hold the Subjects under obedience, building Citadels, and having the whole ſtrength in their hands. Herein they prevailed, ſhe being married unto the Dauphine.

John de Monluck Biſhop of *Valence*, was ſent Ambaſſador from *France* to the Governour and Queen mother Siſter to the Duke of *Guiſe*. And when the ſaid Ambaſſadour was to return to *France*, it pleaſed the Queen-mother to ſend me with him, to be placed Page of Honor to the Queen her Daughter, I being then 14 years of Age. But the ſaid Biſhop went firſt to *Ireland*, commanded thereto by the K. his Maſters Letter, to know more particularly the motions and likelihood of the Offers made by *Oneel*, *Odoneel*, *Odocart*, and *Callock*, willing to ſhake off the Yoke of *England*, and become ſubject to the King of *France*; providing that he would procure the Popes gift of *Ireland*, and then ſend to their help 2000 Hacbutiers, 200 Light Horſemen, and 4 Cannon.

We ſhipped for *Ireland* in the Month of *January*, and were ſtormſted by the way in a little Iſle called *Sandiſle* before *Kintire*, where we were compelled to tarry 17. days, by reaſon of the Storm. Thence we hoiſed Sail toward *Ireland*, but the Storm was yet ſo extreamly violent, that with great danger of the Ship and our lives, we entered in at the mouth of *Loghfeul* in *Ireland* upon Shrove-tueſday in the year 1545. for the Skipper and Marriners had loſt all hopes of ſafety, having left their Anchors behind them the night before. 'Ere we landed we ſent one *George Paris* who had been ſent to *Scotland* by the great *Oneel* and his Aſſociates, who landed at the houſe of a Gentleman who had married *Odocarts* Daughter, dwelling at the ſide of a Lake, who came to our Ship, and welcomed us, and convoyed us to his houſe, where we reſted that night.

The next morning *Odocart* came there, and convoyed us to his houſe, which was a great dark Tower, where we had cold chear, as Herring and Bisket, for it was Lent. There finding two *Engliſh* Gray Friars who had fled out of *England* (for King *Edward* VI. was yet alive) the ſaid Friars perceiving the Biſhop to look very kindly to *Odocarts* Daughter, who fled from him continually, they brought to him a Woman who ſpoke *Engliſh* to lie with him. Which Harlot being keept quietly in his Chamber, found a little Glaſs within a Caſe ſtanding in a window, for the Coffers were all wet with the Sea Waves that fell into the Ship during the Storm. She believing it had been ordained to be eaten, becauſe it had an odoriferous ſmell, therefore ſhe licked it clean out, which put the Biſhop into ſuch a rage, that he cried out for impatience, diſcovering this harlotry, and his choler in ſuch ſort as the Friars fled, and the Woman followed. But the *Iriſh* men and his own Servants did laugh at the matter, for it was a Viol of the moſt pretious Balm that grew in *Egypt*, which *Solyman* the Great Turk had given in a Preſent to the ſaid Biſhop, after he had been two years Ambaſſador for the King of *France* in *Turkey*, and was eſteemed worth 2000 Crowns.

In the time that we remained at *Odocarts* houſe, his young daughter who fled from the Biſhop, came and ſought me, where-ever I was, and brought a Prieſt with her who could ſpeak Engliſh, and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me where-ever I pleaſed. I gave her thanks, but told her that I was but young, and had no Eſtate, and was bound for *France*.

Now the Ambaſſadour met in a ſecret part with *Oneel* and his Aſſociates, and heard their Offers and Overtures. And the Patriarch of *Ireland* did meet him there, who was a Scotchman born called *Wachop*, and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at *Rome* by Poſt. He did great honour to the Ambaſſadour, and conveyed him to ſee S. *Patricks* Purgatory, which is like an old Coal-pit which had taken fire by reaſon of the ſmoke that came out of the hole.

From *Odocarts* houſe we went to a dwelling place of the Biſhop of *Roy*, not far from the narrow Firth that runs thorough *Loghfeul* to the Sea, The ſaid Iriſh Biſhop had been alſo at *Rome*. and there we reſted other three weeks, waiting for a Highland Bark, which *James Machonel* ſhould have ſent from *Kintire* with his Brother *Angus*, to carry us back to *Dunbarton*. Which being come for us, we parted to a Caſtle which the ſaid *Machonel* had in *Ireland*; and from that we imbarked and reſted a night in the Iſle of *Jura*, and the next night in the Iſle of *Bute*. But by the way we loſt our Rudder, and were in great danger when we came to *Kiltire*. *James Maconel* did treat us honourably, and told the Biſhop that he was the welcomer for my ſake, becauſe he had been kindly uſed by my Father when he was warded in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, during the time that my Father was Captain thereof, of whom he made an honourable report to the Biſhop. Which occaſioned him the more kindly to notice me. After he had cauſed us to be landed at *Dumbarton*, we went ſtreight to *Sterling*; where after eight days, the Ambaſſadour took leave of the Queen, and went again to *Dumbarton*, where there were two French Ships [that had brought Siver to *Scotland* to pay the French Souldiers in Service, there ready to recive us. So ſailing by the *Iſle of Man* along the South Coaſt of *Ireland*, we landed at *Conquet* in *Brittany* eight days after our Embarking, not without ſome danger by the way both from Engliſh Ships, and a great Storm ; ſo that once at Midnight the Mariners cried that we were all loſt. At *Breſt* in *Brittany* the Biſhop took Poſt toward the Court of *France*, which was in *Paris* for the time. And becauſe I was young, and he ſuppoſed I was not able to endure the toil of riding Poſt, he directed two Scottiſh Gentlemen, whoſe Fathers he had been acquainted with in *Scotland*, to be careful of me by the way. And we bought three little Nags to ride to *Paris*. He deſired the two Brothers to let me want for nothing by the way;

which he would recompenſe at the next meeting. He left with me as much money as would buy a Horſe and bear my expenſe upon the Road to *Paris*.

Now we three enquired after other company, and found other three young men, the one a French man, the other a Brittain, and the third a *Spaniard*, who were to ride the ſame way. We were all ſix lodged in one Chamber at the firſt Inn we did quarter at, in which were three Beds, the two French men had one Bed, the two Scots another, the Spaniard and my ſelf the third. I over-heard the two Scoth men diſcourſing together, that they were directed by the Biſhop to let me want for nothing, therefore ſays the one to the other, we will pay for his Ordinary all the way, and ſhall accompt twice as much to his Maſter as we disburſe, when we come to *Paris*, and ſo ſhall gain our own expence. The two French men not thinking that any of us underſtood that Language, were ſaying to themſelves, Theſe Strangers are all young, and know not the Faſhion of the Hoſtlaries, therefore we ſhall reckon with the Hoſt at every Repoſe, and ſhall cauſe the Strangers to pay more than the cuſtom is, and that way ſhall ſave our own charges. And accordingly the next day they went to put it in execution; but I could not forbear laughing in my mind, having underſtood ſo much French as to know what they were aiming at, wherewith I acquainted the young Spaniard; and ſo we were upon our guard: yet the two Scotch men would not conſent that I ſhould pay for my ſelf hoping that way to beguile the Biſhop: but the Spaniard and I wrote up every days accompt. By the way riding thorough a Wood, the two French men lighted off their Horſes, and drew out their Swords, having appointed other two to meet them. But beholding our countenance, and ſeeing that we were making for our defence, they made a Sport of it, alledging that they had done it to try if we would be afraid, in caſe we ſhould be aſſaulted by the way. But theſe two Rogues that met us, left us at the next Lodging; and when we came to *Paris*, the two Scotch men never obtained payment of the Biſhop, for that they had disburſed, becauſe of their intended fraud. We were 13 days in riding betwixt *Breſt* and *Paris*, where we arrived in the Moneth of *April*.

Within a Moneth after our arrival at *Paris*, the Biſhop of *Valence* was ſent to *Rome*; and becauſe he took Poſt, he left me behind him, having tabled me in a very good Ordinary, and agreed with Maſters to teach me the French Tongue, and to Dance, Fence and play upon the Lute. I know not why he did not preſent me to the Queen, as he had engaged; albeit afterward he ſaid that he was minded to make me his Heir.

The cauſe why he was at this time ſent to *Rome*, was this: Pope *Paul* the Third had exchanged ſome Lands belonging to the Church, for *Parma* and *Placentia*, two Towns appertaining formerly to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and gave them to his Son *Piere Luis Farnes*, who married his eldeſt Son *Octavio* to the Baſtard Daughter of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth. The ſaid *Piere Luis* being murthered for his deteſtable Vices, the next Pope *Julius* pretended to bring again the ſaid two Towns to the Church, in ſtead of the Church Lands that had been exchanged for them; compelling the Duke *Octavio* (finding himſelf

ſelf unable to withſtand the Popes forces) to put the ſaid Towns into the King of *France* his cuſtody: for he was in as great fear of the Emperour his Father-in-Law, who had gotten poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of *Millan.* And for that effect he ſent his Brother the Duke of *Caſters* to *France,* to whom King *Henry* of *France* gave his Baſtard Daughter in marriage. The King of *France* being as earneſt to have an Eſtate in *Italy,* as the Emperour was to hinder him from it, by reaſon of *Millan* and *Naples,* to which the King claimed a right, though the Emperour had them in poſſeſſion. Therefore ſo ſoon as he did ſee the French Garriſon within the Town of *Parma,* he took part with the Pope. Which made the K. of *France* endeavour to make a Peace with K. *Edward* VI. of *England,* by the means of the Duke of *Northumberland,* who had a ſtrict Friendſhip with *France,* having a hidden mark of his own that he ſhot at, as his Proceedings afterward declared. The Peace with *England* being concluded, that King *Edward* ſhould marry *Elizabeth* Eldeſt Daughter to *Henry* the Second of *France*; and that he ſhould give his conſent that the Queen of *Scotland,* who was betrothed to him ſhould be married with *Francis* Dauphin of *France,* in which Peace *Scotland* was alſo comprehended. The Biſhop of *Valence* was ſent to *Rome* to endeavour to oblige the Pope to deſert the Emperour, but he returned without obtaining ſucceſs in his Expedition: which was the cauſe that the dealing betwixt the King of *France* and *Oneel* in *Ireland* ceaſed. And in the mean time the King of *France* emits a Proclamation forbidding his Subjects to ſend to *Rome* for any Bulls, or Confirmation of Benefices; which together with the agreement with *England,* put the Pope in great fear that *France* would become Proteſtants in deſpight, as *Henry* the Eighth had lately done before. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, becauſe an Army was ſhortly after made ready to paſs into *Germany,* to the aid of the Proteſtant Princes; where King *Henry* himſelf did in perſon lead thouſand men. For then many of the *Germans* were become Proteſtants, occaſioned at firſt by the inſolent avarice of the Pope, and the ſhameleſs proceedings of his ſelling of Pardons, and by the zeal and boldneſs of *Martin Luther,* who being perſecuted, was maintained and aſſiſted by the good Duke *Frederick* the of *Saxony,* Landgrave of *Heſſe,* and other Princes of the Empire. Whereupon the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth took occaſion under pretext of maintaining the Catholick Roman Religion, to pretend to bring the Empire and all the Dominions thereof, as Patrimony to him and his poſterity. And therefore abandoned his Son-in-Law the Duke *Octavio* to the Popes diſcretion, for to obtain the greater aſſiſtance from him againſt the *Germans.* Which deſign the Emperor had once brought near to paſs. For after that he had vanquiſhed the Proteſtants in Battle, and taken Priſoner Duke *John Frederick,* he paſſed thorough the moſt part of the Provinces and Free Towns of Dutchland, and took from them their Liberties, placing Officers at his pleaſure, and receiving from them of Gifts and Ranſoms, Sixteen hundred thouſand Crowns, and Five hundred Piece of Artillery. Yet he doubted the Landgrave, who was a valiant Prince, and chanced to be abſent from the ſaid Battle; therefore he dealt with *Duke Maurice,* Godſon to the ſaid Landgrave, to perſwade his Godfather to come in, under aſſurance and promiſe, which the Emperour broke, retaining the ſaid Landgrave captive upon the ſubtlety of a Syllable.

This Duke *Maurice* was Couſin to the Captive Duke of *Saxony*, and had obtained the Electorat of *Saxony*, which the Emperour took from his Couſin and gave to him. Whereupon he, as a fine Courtier aſſiſted the Emperour, helping him greatly in his Victories againſt his Country and Friends for his own promotion. But when the Landgrave called him Shelm, Pultroon, Traitor, and deceiver of him whoſe Daughter he had married, he made earneſt ſuit to the Emperour, for the Liberty of his Godfather, though in vain. The Emperour alledging no promiſe to have been broken to the ſaid Landgrave, cauſing the Letter of Promiſe and Pacification to be read in his preſence in the Dutch Tongue, wherein was a written word which admitted of two divers interpretations: to wit, this word *Enig* was interpreted by the Emperour *Perpetual*, and by the Landgrave and Duke *Maurice* it was taken for *Null* or *Nane*. But they could not help themſelves, for the Landgrave was two years ſo ſtraitly kept by the Spaniards, that oft in the night they held a light Candle to his face, to be aſſured that he was ſleeping; and vexed him ſo, that through deſpight he would ſpit in their faces, crying out continually againſt *Maurice* who was not ſleeping: But had ſent ſecretly to the King of *France*, declaring how not onely his Godfather and he were ſo abuſed and deceived by the Emperour; but that he had begun already to rob the Empire of its Liberties, to change the State thereof to a Monarchy, againſt the Oath and Promiſe made at the Election and his Coronation. And that under prætext to ſuppreſs Hereſie, he was ſo aſſiſted by the Pope, that he was like to prevail. Intreating the King not to ſuffer them who were his Friends to be ſo oppreſſed, ſeeing it was no ways his Intereſt that his Competitor ſhould grow ſo great, ſeeing thereby he ſhould be the more in a capacity to annoy him at his pleaſure. Whereupon the ſaid King took occaſion to levy an Army, and to convoy the ſame into *Almaign*, and appearing to ſeek their Liberty, he poſſeſſed himſelf in his way of *Metz*, *Towl*, and *Verdun*, three great Imperial Towns and Biſhopricks.

In the mean time Duke *Maurice* lying at the Siege of *Magdeburg* Lieutenant for the Emperour, giving not the leaſt ground of ſuſpecting him diſcontent for the Landgraves retention, but rather endeavouring to make appear how far he was obliged to the Emperour, who had ſo highly advanced him, like a fine Courtier, evidencing publickly his reſolutions of ſetting forward his Maſters intereſt, and executing all his Commands, whether they ſhould be right or wrong.

Yet the Duke of *Alva* alledged in ſecret Counſel with the Emperour, that *Maurice* lingred too long at the Siege of the ſaid Town And that it was to be ſuſpected, that he was offended at the uſage his Godfather did meet with. But *Granvil* Biſhop of *Arras*, on the contrary, ſaid, that ſuch drunken Dutch heads needed not be ſuſpected. Eſpecially ſeeing two of the ſaid Dukes Counſellours were Penſioners to his Sacred Majeſty; and advertiſed him continually of all the Dukes moſt ſecret deliberations. Yet they thought expedient to ſend for the Duke, to ſee if he would preſently obey, or pretend ſome excuſe.

But Duke *Maurice* had as much ſubtilty as any Spaniard of the Emperors Council, having had intelligence that the Emperor had bribed two of his Secretaries, yet he gave not the leaſt ground to conjecture that he knew any thing thereof, appearing to do nothing without them, deliberating all his Enterpriſes in their preſence, whereby the Emperour was deluded ſo as to expect no harm from him. And when the Duke was ſent for, he took Poſt immediately for the Court, taking in his Company one of the Secretaries whom he knew to be the Emperors Penſioner, whom he ſent before to ſhew the Emperor that he was following at leiſure, by reaſon of a pain he had taken in his ſide occaſioned with riding Poſt.

But the Duke had ſecretly commanded his Lieutenant to bring up the whole Army with all diligence, and to march night and day. So that he ſurpriſed the Emperour ere he had received the leaſt notice thereof: for he was compelled to riſe from Supper, and fly forth of *Isbrugh* with Torch-light; and ſo clearly out of Dutchland, that he never ſet foot within it again.

This done he ſent to the King of *France*, who was with his Army beſide *Strasburgh*, giving him great thanks for his pains, advertiſing him of the Emperors flight, intreating him to return home with his Army: for *Maurice* was diſſatisfied that he had taken three of the Imperial Towns, and in the mean time he haſted through the whole Country, reſtoring the Free Towns to their former Liberty and Priviledges.

The Emperor again fearing to be compelled, ſet at liberty the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Heſs*. Finding himſelf fruſtrate of his expectation, and underſtanding that Duke *Maurice* had a great grudge againſt the King for taking fraudulently the three aforeſaid Towns from the Empire, he dealt with *Maurice* ſecretly, allowing all that he had done. And ſo both being reconciled, they together laid Siege to the Town of *Metz*, though in vain. Whereby may be obſerved how dangerous it is in Civil Diſſentions, to bring in great companies of Strangers to ſupport any of the Parties. It may appear impertinent for me, to write thus much of the Affairs of *Dutchland*, being my ſelf but young for the time, and not preſent in the French Army. But afterward when I was in *Germany*, I had this accompt from the good Elector Palatine, ſo that none could attain to more certain Information thereof.

The Biſhop of *Valence* was at this time at *Paris*. He was deſirous to have ſome knowledge in the Mathematicks; and for that effect he found out a great Scholar in divers high Sciences, called *Cavatius*. This *Cavatius* took occaſion frequently in conference, to tell him of two familiar Spirits that were in *Paris* waiting upon an old Shepherd, who in his youth had ſerved a Prieſt, and who at his death left them to him. The Biſhop upon the Kings return from *Germany*, introduced the ſaid *Cavatius* to the King. Who to verifie what he had ſaid, offered loſe his head, in caſe he ſhould not ſhew the two Spirits to his Majeſty, or to any he ſhould ſend, in the form of Men, Dogs, or Cats. But the King would not ſee them, and cauſed the Shepherd to be burnt, and impriſoned the ſaid *Cavatius*.

The Biſhop had another learned man to his Maſter, called *Taggot*, who had been curious in ſundry of the ſaid Sciences, and knew by the Art of Palmeſtry, as he ſaid to me himſelf, that he ſhould die before he attained to the age of 28. years. Therefore, ſaid he, I know the true Religion to be exerciſed at *Geneva*, there will I go and end my life in Gods ſervice. Whither accordingly he went, and died there, as I was afterwards informed.

At this time the Biſhop of *Valence*, being at Court in *St. Germans*, he was reſolved to have preſented me to the Queen. But in the interim, Captain *Ninean Cockbourn* then one of the Scots Guard, had obtained liberty to viſit his Friends in *Scotland*, and was lately returned. This man was a Buſie Medler, and had been ſometimes entertained about my Fathers houſe. He finding that I could ſpeak French, told me that he had a matter of conſequence to impart to the Conſtable; and intreated that I would go along with him to be his Interpreter, becauſe he had not the French Tongue. But he would not acquaint me with the matter, till he was in the Conſtables preſence.

We attended till one day after dinner, when he was to give audience to divers Ambaſſadors. He commanded us to wait at his Chamber door till two Afternoon, which hour he failed not to keep, after he had heard the Ambaſſadors, and made report to the King of their demands, and adviſed him what to anſwer. We two were brought in to his Cabinet, where he was alone with a Secretary. Then the Captain began to declare, how that in his late being in *Scotland*, Biſhop *John Hamilton*, whole Guider of the Governour his Brother, had been dangerouſly ſick, ſo that his Speech was loſt without all hope of recovery. That the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* had taken occaſion hereof, to prevail with the Governour ſo effectually, that he had reſigned the Government to her, ſhe being made Queen Regent, and willing me to ſhew the ſame to the Conſtable. But I required to know what further he had to ſay; Then he proceeded to ſhew that when the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* had recovered his Speech and health, by the help of *Cardanus* an Italian Magician, he curſed, and cried out, that the Governour was a very Beaſt, for quitting the Government to her, ſeeing there was but a Skittering Laſs between him and the Crown. But I bluſhed, when the Captain pulled upon me to tell theſe very words to the Conſtable. He perceived how loath I was to rehearſe it, at laſt he preſſed me. I told him I did not think it worthy to be communicated to his Lordſhip. He asked my name, and cauſed his Secretary to write it up, and enquire if I was of Kin to the Captain. Who ſaid in bad French, that I was his Siſters Son. The Conſtable enquired of me, if that was truth. I told him I had no relation to him at all. Then he deſired to know with whom I was in that Country. I anſwered his Lordſhip, that the Biſhop of *Valence* had Commiſſion from the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, to place me her Daughters Page. He deſired to know if I would remain with him, in caſe he procured the Biſhops conſent. I anſwered, that I ſhould think my ſelf much honoured, by being in the company of a Perſon ſo famous in *Europe* as he was: but that I believed he durſt not diſpoſe of me, in reſpect of the Promiſe he had given to the Queen Regent. He anſwered, that he could preſent me when he pleaſed to the Queen; but if I would be ſatisfied to ſtay with him, he would not fail to advance me. I expreſt my ſelf much obliged to his Lordſhip, that he had ſo far taken notice of me, and willing if he procured the Biſhops conſent.

The Conſtable failed not at his firſt rencounter with the Biſhop, to enquire concerning me, and expreſſed his deſire to have me in his Service. To which the Biſhop acquieſced, and acquainted me therewith that ſame night, that the Conſtable was the beſt Maſter in *France*, and would not fail to promote me. Whereupon I entered into his Service, in the Year 1553.

I grant theſe Trifles are not worthy to be here inſerted, were it not to teſtifie Gods gracious goodneſs to the poſterity of the Faithful. As *David* obſerves in his Pſalms, *I have been young, and now am old, yet did I never ſee the Juſt abandoned.* For it was God that moved the Queen Regents heart to take two of my Brothers into her Service, and to ſend me into *France* to be placed with her Daughter our Queen. Who alſo moved the Biſhop to be ſo kind to me, that if I had been his own Son, he could not have had more affection for me: and the ſame God moved the Conſtables heart to deſire me.

In the Year 1553. in the Moneth of *May*, the Conſtable of *France* raiſed a great Army. And being the Kings Lieutenant, led them firſt to *Amience* in *Picardy*. For when the King of *France* was in *Dutchland* with his Army, as he gave out, to help the Princes of the Empire, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* then a Widow, Siſter to the Emperour, and Regent of *Flanders*, entered with an Army into *Picardy*, and burnt the Kings Palace of *Fontanbrey*, with divers other little Towns and Villages. Thinking thereby to divert the King, that he ſhould have come back to defend his own bounds. Thus they entered into hot Wars, and the King in his return beſieged ſeveral Towns and took them.

Therefore the Emperour in the Spring time of that ſame Year, entered in perſon with a great Army into *Picardy*, and won *Turuan*, and *Sedan*, and burnt divers Burghs and Villages: which cauſed the Conſtable to go with his Army to reſiſt him. The two Armies being incamped ſeven leagues aſunder, the Conſtable was advertiſed by a Spie, that all the Emperours Horſemen were to come in the night to aſſault the French Camp. Therefore he to ſhun that ſurpriſe, marched all night forward toward the Enemy, with all his Forces Horſe and Foot, whereby he ſurpriſed thoſe who thought to have found him in bed, and gave them the overthrow. Many were killed, and ſome taken; among the reſt the Duke of *Areſcot*, Leader of thoſe deſigned for that Enterpriſe, was taken Priſoner.

After this Victory, King *Henry* the Second came to the Camp himſelf. The Emperour retiring toward the Town of *Valencien*, the Kings Camp following always upon his Wing, making divers days journeys before he came to the ſaid *Valencien.* where the Emperour had ſet down his Camp without the Town upon an Hill, making Trenches round about the ſame. Where the King preſented him battle, waiting in vain a whole day, to ſee if he might be provoked to come forth. And for that effect ſent a number of Infantry Perdews to his Trenches, to bring on the Skirmiſh, where the Emperour ſent out ſome Companies of Horſemen, who were ſoon beat back within their Foot. In the mean time the Emperour cauſed his whole Artillery to fire at our Camp, though not much to our prejudice. We were advertiſed that the Emperour was determined not to hazard Battle, for he began to believe that Fortune favoured no more his old age. Therefore when night drew near, the King retreated to *St. Quintine*, where the Conſtable fell deadly ſick, being then in his great Climacterick. Then both the Armies were ſent to their Winter Garriſons, the Emperour went for *Bruxels*, and the King to *Paris*, and the Conſtable to his Palace at *Chantilly*, to recover his health.

During this Winter there was a great Convention between *Calis* and *Ardreſs*, where Cardinal *Pool* was appointed Mediator by the Pope, to agree the two great Princes, but without any effect. Therefore the next Spring the King went firſt into the Field with his Army, in the Year 1554. as the Emperour had done the Year before. At which time I was made his Penſioner, by the Conſtables means. His Majeſty beſieged and took firſt *Marianbrugh*, a gallant Town, and of great ſtrength. He took alſo *Bovineand*, and at length *Dyvan*. But the Caſtle of *Dyvan* ſituated upon a high Rock, was ſtoutly defended by a Spaniſh Captain, who at length coming forth to ſpeak with the Conſtable about Compoſition, was retained; and the men of War came forth with their Bag and Baggage. Few or none of the Souldiers who came forth of *Dyvan*, but were hurt either with ſhelves of ſtaves, by the force of our Battery, or were burnt with the Fire-brands, that they did roll down the ſteep hill whereupon the Wall was built. And thrice they repulſed our *French* Footmen, Eleven Banner-bearers whereof went up to the breach: *to wit*, Firſt one with the Enſign in his hand, not followed with his Company, who was killed, and fell tumbling down the Hill. Then another Souldier to win the Office, took up the Enſign, and went up likewiſe to the head of the Wall, who was alſo killed. Then the third, and all the eleven one after another, loſt their lives, not at all aſſiſted by their Companies. Notwithſtnding that the Conſtable, my Maſter, ſtood by crying and threatning in vain; for which he degraded their Captains, and brake their Companies. There was a Scotch-man, Brother to *Barnbougle*, called *Archibald Moubray*, who with his drawn Sword ran up to the head of the Wall, and returned ſafe. But he got no reward, though I uſed all my endeavours for him. Thus many are readier to puniſh faults, than to reward good deeds.

After this the King entered far in the Low-Countries, burning and carrying away great Booties. But ſo ſoon as the Emperour could convene any Forces together, our Army began to retire homeward. Then the Emperour ſent five thouſand Horſemen, to ſee if they might perceive any occaſion of advantage. Which they frequently aſſayed, aſſailing our Rear-guard at the paſſing over a little Water. At which time the Conſtable ſtaid behind himſelf, and turning his face toward them, he withſtood their charge ſtoutly, with the *French* Footmen, and ſome Light-horſemen, until the whole Army had paſſed over the ſaid Water, not far from *Cambray*. So the Emperours Horſemen followed no further at that time: believing that the King was reſolved to return to *France*, and diſmiſs his Army for that year. But the King drew along the Frontier toward a place of great ſtrength, called *Kenty*, where he planted his Camp, and beſieged the ſaid place: which I heard the Conſtable promiſe to deliver to the King in eight days. Which promiſe was not performed, for the Emperour came in perſon with his Army for the relief thereof. Which Army the Conſtable rode out to meet with the whole *French* Horſemen; leaving the Foot at the Siege. For he had great intelligence, and had heard where the Emperour was reſolved to encamp, marching along a great Hight which had a Steep towards the part where our Camp lay. But it was eaſie to ride, up and down at the ſide thereof. Where our Horſemen did ride, and the Emperour ſent down ſome on Horſeback to skirmiſh. At which time *Normand Leſly* Maſter of *Rotheſs* won great reputation; for with thirty Scotchmen he rode up the Hill, upon a fair Grey Gelding. He had above his Coat of black Velvet his Coat of Armour with two broad white Croſſes, the one before and the other behind, with Sleeves of Mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and ſeen afar off by the Conſtable, the Duke of *Anguion*, and Prince of *Conde*. Where with his 30 he charged upon 60 of their Horſe-men with Culverines, followed but with ſeven of his number. He in our ſight ſtruck five of them from their Horſes with his Spear before it brake. Then he drew his Sword and ran in among them; not valuing their continual ſhooting, to the admiration of the beholders. He ſlew divers of them, and at length when he ſaw a company of Spear-men coming down againſt him, he gave his Horſe the Spurs, who carried him to the Conſtable, and there fell down dead: for he had many ſhots, and worthy *Normand* was alſo ſhot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after. He was firſt carried to the Kings own Tent, where the Duke of *Anguien*, and Prince of *Conde* told his Majeſty that *Hector* of *Troy* was not more valiant than the ſaid *Norman*: Whom the ſaid King would ſee dreſſed by his own Chirurgions, and made great moan for him. So did the Conſtable, and all the reſt of the Princes, but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of *Grange*, who came to the Camp the next day after, from a quiet Road whither he had been commanded.

Now the Emperour ſet down his Camp two miles from *Renty*, and in an inſtant entrenched the whole Camp round about, ſave onely the face of the ſteep Hill that looked towards our Camp.

All that night there were many upon the Watches of both Armies, for every man looked for a Battle the next day following. And therefore the Emperour, like an old experienced Captain, ſeiſed upon a Wood in the night time, that lay upon a Hill ſide between the two Camps; which was not onely a great advantage to him, but compelled the moſt part of our Army to ſtand in arms all night; whereby they were rendered the more unable againſt the next day, wanting the refreſhment of reſt, and then the place of Battle was a plain Valley that lay under the ſaid Wood. The next morning early, after every man had ſaid their prayers, and taken a little refreſhment, we placed our Army in good order of Battle, under the ſaid Hill and Wood. The King himſelf that day commanded the Battle, but he deſired the Conſtable to abide with him, to give Counſel as occaſion would fall out. The Duke of *Guiſe* led the Vant-gard, and the Marſhal of *St. Andre* the Rearguard. Firſt ſo many of our *French* Foot, as are called Infant Perdews, were led along the Hill and Wood, beginning to skirmiſh with the Spaniards, who were within the Wood; who had ſo great advantage, being covered with Buſhes and Trees, that they compelled our Foot to retire fearfully. Which well favoured beginning, the Emperour might well perceive from the Hill whereon he was encamped. Therefore like a ſkilful Captain, he took the occaſion to hazard a good part of the Vant-guard with ſeven Field-pieces, who by his direction came forward. The *Spaniards* with their Fire arms through the Wood, a thouſand Lance-Knights with bright Corſlets, along the Hill ſide, with long Pikes. The Count of *Swertſenburg* with all his Reiters at the Hill Foot, and the whole Light-horſemen of the Emperours Army upon his right hand. At which time, our Foot, who were appointed to ſkirmiſh with the *Spaniards*, retired more and more, as alſo our Light-horſemen in the Valley, drew aſide, and gave too great place to the Emperours Vant-guard. Which when it came where Monſieur *D' Tavanes*, and Monſieur *D' Lorge* ſtood with their Companies, ſeeing them make for defence, they marched more coldly. The Duke of *Guiſe* in the mean time ſaid, that he would ride back to the Battle, and obtain the Kings Command before he would charge upon the Enemy. But Monſieur de *Lorge* who was an old Captain, alledged that there was no time to take Council, fort he Enemy, ſaid he, will be as ſoon at the King as you. Therefore it was reſolved, to charge couragiouſly upon the Enemy; which being done, and a little rencounter made, the Reiters ſhot off all their Piſtols, and finding themſelves not backed, nor followed with the reſt of the Emperours Army, as they alledged, was promiſed unto them, they gave back and fled, being purſued by our Horſe, who ſlew ſeveral of the Dutch Foot, and ſome of the Spaniards, for the Wood was their relief, but the Horſe all eſcaped, within the Ramparts of the Emperours Camp. Their Field-pieces were taken, and many Spaniards made Priſoners. Therefore we called it a won Battle, and marched forward, poſſeſſing the ground where the Fight was, and ſet down our Camp the ſame night hard beſide the Emperours. Who ſeemed not that he had loſt any thing, but remained ſtedfaſtly within his Trenches. All that night the Army for the moſt part was upon the Watch, and the next day the Armies looked peaceably one upon another. For we would not hazard to charge them within their Foot, and they ſtaid for twelve thouſand freſh men that were coming to their aid. But in the Evening, they diſcharged all their Canons, which overthrew part of our Tents; and we again diſcharged all our Cannon at them, and did laugh to ſee the bullets light and rebound among them. Yet the ſame night, without Trumpet or beating of Drum, we raiſed our whole Army, and retired home to our own Town of *Montreal*, and left *Renty* unwon, alledging that we had won a battle, which was better; and that we wanted Horſemeat in the beginning of Winter. But the Emperour ſuffered us patiently to paſs away, not appearing to underſtand that he knew any thing of our retreat, being content that he had preſerved *Renty* from being taken.

After this, the Emperour being aged, and finding himſelf vexed with the Gout and Gravel, he thought fit to leave the World, and retire himſelf to a Monaſtery of Monks in *Spain*. But firſt he made means with the Princes of the Empire, to elect his Son *Philip* to be Emperour, which they altogether refuſed, thinking him too mighty, and the more in a capacity to ſubdue their Liberties, as his Father had attempted to do before. But they were content to chuſe his Brother *Ferdinand*, who was King of *Bohemia*, and Archduke of *Auſtria*, which Dominions lay neareſt the *Turks*. The ſaid *Ferdinand* having alſo ſome Lands in *Hungary*, would be compelled to defend his own Lands, and that way would be content with leſs Contribution from the Eſtates of the Empire. He gave over to his Son *Philip* his other Kingdoms and Dominions that he had in *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low Countries*. And for the eſtabliſhing his ſaid Sons Eſtate, he drew on a Treaty of Truce for the ſpace of five years with *France*. Which was agreed upon, and ſworn between the Parties. But the ſaid Truce was ſoon broken at the perſuaſion of Pope *Paul* the Fourth, who intending to bring back again to the Church, ſome Church Lands that his Predeceſſors had diſpoſed to their Friends. As the common cuſtom of Popes is, the one Pope diſpones to his Baſtards or Nephews, the next Pope revokes the Lands, pretending the ſame to be for the good of the Church, and gives them again to his Kindred and Friends. But thoſe who had the Lands that Pope *Paul* the Fourth claimed, were a great Clan in *Italy*, called *Collonois*, who were dependers upon the King of *Spain*, and were under his Protection, and would not grant to give over any of their Poſſeſſions unto the Pope, neither for his Curſing, Threatning, or Bragging, but ſtood in their own defence. Whereof the Pope impatient, put on by two of his Nephews, ſent the one of them to *France* called the Cardinal *Caraff*. The ſaid Legat had born before him a Hat upon the point of a Sword, both Hat and Sword to be preſented to the King of *France*. The Sword as an aſſured token of Victory, and the Hat as a token of triumph: requiring the King as eldeſt Son of the Catholick Church of *Rome*, to ſend an Army to *Italy*, to help the Popes Holineſs recover again to the Kirk, ſuch Lands as were wrongfully with holden from the ſame, by the ſaid race of the *Collonois*. And for to take away all ſcrupuloſity from the Kings Conſcience, by reaſon of his Oath and Sacrament at the cloſing up of the Truce with the King of *Spain*, he the ſaid Cardinal as Legat from Gods Vicar, having power, would give him full abſolution, he having power to bind and looſe. Alledging moreover that in doing ſo dutiful an Office for the Kirk, the King ſhould reap a great advantage to himſelf, ſeeing he might thereby be put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples* by the Forces of the Pope. Who ſhould join with the Kings Army, after he had helped the Kirk to recover her Lands from them, who were maintained in the poſſeſſion thereof, by his Competitor the King of *Spain*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* his Brother, imbraced this Propoſition very earneſtly. For the Duke expected to be made Vice-Roy of *Naples*, whereby he might the more eaſily ſometime make his Brother Pope. But the old Conſtable my Maſter, was utterly againſt the breaking of the Peace. Yet the two ambitious Brothers prevailed, perſuading the King, that as the Conſtables age required reſt, ſo the King being in the flower of his years, ought not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion to recover again the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Crown of *France*.

Thus a great Army was prepared and ſent into *Italy*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and likewiſe the Kings Lieutenant in *Pic-*

cardy entered in upon the King of *Spains* Dominions with Fire and Sword, ſo unexpected by thoſe of the *Low Countries*, that ſome of the *French* Light-horſemen entered upon Horſeback, within one of their Kirks upon a Sunday, and ſnatched the Chalice out of the Prieſts hands when he was mumbling his Maſs.

The King of *Spain* took this breach of the Peace heavily to heart, and both aſſiſted the *Collonois* againſt the Popes Forces more earneſtly than he would have done; and alſo prepared a great Army againſt the next Spring to invade the Frontiers of *Piccardy* in *France*.

In the mean time that the Duke of *Guiſe* with his *French* Army was in *Italy*, the Pope took occaſion haſtily to compound with the *Collonois*; who finding themſelves like to be ſtraitned, before the King of *Spains* Forces could be ready to ſupport them, gave the Pope part of his deſire, he ſecuring to them the reſt.

But the Duke of *Guiſe* judged himſelf greatly diſgraced by the Popes guile, and diſappointed as to the expectations he had of the preferment to the Kingdom of *Naples*, when he underſtood that the Pope was agreed without him, and that in ſtead of concurring and helping him to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to his engagement, he plainly refuſed; pretending that the Winter was near at hand, and that it was, by far more fitting, that all Chriſtian Princes were agreed among themſelves, to make War againſt the Great Turk. So that all the favour the Duke of *Guiſe* had, by undertaking this Journey into *Italy*, was to get a Kiſs of the Popes Foot; which occaſioned great anger in the King of *France*, both at the one and the other. Then for the ſpace of two Moneths, every man at the Court of *France* had liberty to ſpeak ill of the Pope, who at that inſtant agreed with the King of *Spain* by the mediation of that ſame Cardinal *Caraff*, who had carried the Sword and Hat a little before to the King of *France*. Which Cardinal was afterwards ſtrangled by the next Pope *Pius* IV. for practiſing to bring the Great Turk into *Italy*, againſt the Chriſtians. Which he at his death confeſſed he had, for his own greatneſs. This I underſtood afterward, being at *Rome*.

Now to return to the Duke of *Guiſe* his Army, abandoned by the Pope. He returned to *France* with the loſs of the moſt part dead for hunger, and weakned by ſickneſs, and ſlain by the *Spaniards*, who waited at their heels all the way. Before the Duke of *Guiſe* his coming home to *France*, the King of *Spain* was entered upon the Frontiers of *France* with a great Army of ...... thouſand men. Whom to reſiſt, the Conſtable, my Maſter, was ſent with ſixteen thouſand. The day before he took leave of the King at *Rhemes* in *Champaigne*, riding to the hunting, there came a man in grave apparel following him on Foot, crying for audience for Gods ſake. Whereupon the Conſtable ſtaid, willing him to ſpeak. Who ſaid, *The Lord ſays, ſeeing that thou wilt not know me, I ſhall likewiſe not know thee, thy glory ſhall be laid in the duſt.* This ſtrange language put the Conſtable in ſuch a rage, that he ſtrook the poor man into the face with the horſe rod which was in his hand, and threatned to cauſe him to be hanged. The man anſwered, he *was willing to ſuffer what puniſhment he pleaſed, ſeeing he had performed his commiſſion.* The Duke of *Nevers* perceiving the Conſtable troubled, drew near, deſiring to know the cauſe. The Conſtable told him that ſuch a Knave had been preaching to him of God. Then the Duke did alſo threaten the poor man. But as they did ride forward after the King, I ſtaid behind, and asked the man what had moved him to uſe ſuch ſtrange language towards the Conſtable; he anſwered, *That the Spirit of God gave him no reſt till he had diſcharged his mind of that Commiſſion given him by God.*

Now the Spaniſh Army above mentioned, was led by *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, along the Frontiers of *France*, who at laſt planted his Camp about the Town of *St. Quintin.* Whither the Conſtable ſent the Admiral of *Chaſtillion*, his Siſters Son, to defend the ſame, and lodged his Camp at *La Ferr*, five Leagues from the Town of *S. Quintin*: which was not ſufficiently furniſhed with Men and Munition, wherefore he aſſayed the next day, in vain, to put in it more Companies, under the Conduct of *Mounſieur d' Andelot*, Brother to the ſaid Admiral. After the preparation of two days, he marched forward with his whole Army toward *St. Quintin*, carrying with him eighteen Cannons, with ſome Boats that are commonly in Camps, to paſs the Army over Rivers and Waters. For there was a little Logh, upon the South-weſt ſide of the Town, in the which the ſaid Boats were ſet. And Monſieur *D' Andelot*, firſt with three hundred, entered the Town that way; but ſo ſoon as it was perceived, the Enemy ſtopped the reſt from entering.

But ſo ſoon as the Duke of *Savoy* was coming with his whole Army towards us, the Conſtable alledging that he had furniſhed *St. Quintin* ſufficiently, drew homewards towards *La Ferr* in good order, intending to eſchew Battle if he could, the other being more powerful than he. His intention was to paſs and beſiege *Calis*, but the whole Horſemen of the Enemy were hard at us, againſt the time we had travelled four miles; where the Conſtable ſtopped a little time. At length he ſaid that theſe Horſemen came to ſtay us till the Foot were advanced: Therefore he thought beſt to paſs forward to a narrow Poſt betwixt a Wood and a Village, there to give them Battle if he could not eſcape them. In the mean time the Marſhal *D' St. Andre*, a great Man for that time gave unhappy advice, that all the French Servants who were on Horſeback ſhould retire from among the men at Arms, leſt they ſhould be an impediment to them who were to fight, there being as many Servants as there were Maſters. They were glad to get them out of the Preaſe, ſpurring their Horſe with ſpeed homewards, intending to ſtay upon ſome Hill to behold the Combat. The Enemy perceiving ſo great a number of Horſemen, as they thought flying, in the very inſtant, took occaſion to charge upon our Light-horſemen. Whereupon the Conſtable being in a Valley between two Hills, marching toward the ſtrait part where he intended to ſtay, ſpurred forward up the little Hill that he might ſee how to reſiſt, and put order to the Battle: which gave an hard apprehenſion to others that he was flying. But when he turned on the top of the Hill to behold the Onſet, no man would tarry with him for any command. Though he always cried return, return, their heads were homewards, and their hearts alſo, as appeared. Then his Maſter of the Horſe bringing him a Turkey ſpeedy Horſe to run away with the reſt, he anſwered in anger, *That it was againſt his Profeſſion and Occupation to fly*; addreſſing himſelf fearleſly

leſly againſt the greateſt Troop of Enemies, ſaying, *Let all true Servants to the King follow me*: though onely threeſcore Gentlemen accompanied him, who were all overthrown in an inſtant. The Conſtable deſired to be killed, but the Maſter of the Horſe cried continually, *It is the Conſtable, kill him not.* But before he was known, he was ſhot thorough the thigh, and then was taken priſoner. I being hurt by a ſtroke upon the head, was again mounted by my Servant upon a Scotch Gelding, which carried me through the Enemies, who were all betwixt me and home. Two of them ſtruck at my head with Swords, becauſe my Head-piece was ſtrucken off in the firſt rencounter. Theſe two were ſtanding betwixt us and home, to catch Priſoners in a narrow ſtrait. But my horſe ran through them againſt my will, and through the Village, for the Field between it and the Wood was full of ſmoke of the Culverins. There moſt of our Foot were ſlain. The leaping over a Dike ſeparated me from the two, and ſo being paſt the ſaid Village there was room enough to eſcape. So I came ſafe to *La Ferr,* where I did meet with Mr. *Henry Killegrew* an Engliſh Gentleman, my old Friend, who held my horſe, till I ſate down in a Barbers Booth to be dreſſed of the hurt in my head. In the mean time a Proclamation was made that no man ſhould remain within the Town, but the ordinary Garriſon, becauſe the Governour thereof looked for a Siege.

By the loſs of this Battle, the Town of *St. Quintine* and ſeveral other Towns were loſt. Whereby the King of *France* found himſelf reduced to ſo great ſtraits, that he was compelled to accept of a very hurtful Peace at *Cambray*; where I was for the time with my Maſter the Conſtable, yet a Captive.

With the ſaid Conſtable, was adjoined in Commiſſion the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Chaſtillion*, the Marſhal of *St Andre*, the Biſhop of *Orleance*, and the Secretary *Aubapin*: For the King of *Spain*, were the Duke of *Alva*, Prince of *Orange*, and Cardinal *Granvel*: for Queen *Mary* of *England*, were Commiſſioners, *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton*. The Commiſſioners made peace betwixt *France*, *Spain*, *England* and *Scotland*. The Conſtable was much for the Peace, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* deſired the continuance of the Wars. For by the Peace, the Conſtable would get leave to come home, to guide the King and Court again, as he had formerly done. By the continuance of the Wars, he would remain ſtill Priſoner, leaving the Government of the King and Court of *France* to the Cardinal and the Duke of *Guiſe*, his Brother. *Spain* that was victorious, took advantage of their ſtrife and emulation. *France* and *England* loſt by the ſaid Peace. The King inclined moſt to the Conſtables Counſel. *England* appeared deſirous that *Calis* ſhould be reſtored, believing that the King of *Spain* would not agree till they had ſatisfaction of their demands. Yet they were fruſtrate of their expectations. At length perceiving the two great Kings careleſs of their ſatisfaction, they appeared content with a ſcornful mean (albeit it was not) caſt in by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*: to wit, that *Calis* ſhould be reſtored to them at the end of eight years, or elſe five hundred thouſand Crowns. And for payment of the ſaid ſum, in caſe the ſaid Town was not rendred unto them at the end of the time ſpecified, that in the mean time they ſhould have three great men of

France, to be kept as Pledges for the reſtitution of the ſaid Town. Now the Engliſh Commiſſioners knew that nothing of this would be kept, nevertheleſs they appeared content finding themſelves abandoned by *Spain*. So the Peace being concluded, *Spain* obtained all their deſires, the *Conſtable* obtained liberty, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* could not mend himſelf, no more than the Engliſh Commiſſioners.

However the ſaid Cardinal took this advantage of the ſaid Peace, that the firſt Article of the Peace obliged all of them to leave their partialities, and join together to ſuppreſs the great number of Hereticks, who were ſo increaſed through all their Dominions, that it was thought hard enough to the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, together with the Queen of *Scotland*, to reduce them again to the Catholick Faith. The ſaid Cardinal propoſed to himſelf another advantage, wherewith to recompence his loſſes: for he thought at the end of eight years, when *England* would look either to get *Calice* reſtored again to them, or elſe the ſum above ſpecified, he would cauſe his Siſters daughter, the Queen of *Scotland* to be proclaimed righteous Queen of *England*, and allegde that Queen *Elizabeth* was but a Baſtard. And that way he thought not onely *Calice*, but all *England* ſhould appertain to the Queen of *Scotland*. As for the Pledges, he reſolved ſuch men ſhould be choſen that *France* would make little account of.

After the concluding of this Peace, Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Flanders* and *England*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* out of *France*, to take the King of *Spains* Oath, and to ſwear for the King of *France* his obſervation thereof. The Secretary *Dardois* alſo was ſent out of *France*, to do the like in the name of the *Dauphin* of *France* and the Queen of *Scotland* his Spouſe, giving them this new ſtile, In the name of *Francis* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, Dauphin and Dauphinois of *Viennois*. Whereat the Duke *D' Alva* and Cardinal *Granvel* ſmiled, ſaying this will breed ſome buſineſs ere it be long. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſhortly after cauſed to be renewed all the Queen of *Scotlands* ſilver Veſſels, and engraved thereon the Arms of *England*. The Marſhal *Montmorancy* my Maſters eldeſt Son, was ſent to *England* to ſwear the Peace, and to take the Queen of *Englands* Oath. So ſoon as Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* underſtood of this new Stile and Arms, uſurped by the Queen of *Scotland*, to which he ſaid ſhe had no right, he being Ambaſſador from the Queen of *England* to *France*, complained thereof to the King and Council of *France*, though he got but Dutch excuſes; alledging that in *Dutchland* all the Princes Brothers, Couſins, or Children, are ſtiled Princes or Dukes of that ſame Houſe. The Conſtable adviſed the King to Commiſſion me to ſwear the Peace in *Scotland*. But the Cardinal of *Lorrain* alledged Mounſieur *Bettancourt* Maſter of the Houſhold to the Queen Regent was meeter; becauſe the Inſtructions tended to declare unto the Queen Regent, how that the firſt and principal Article of the Peace, was that the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, ſhould join together to reduce again the moſt part of *Europe* to the Roman Catolick Religion, and to purſue and puniſh with Fire and Sword all Hereticks, who would not condeſcend to the ſame; deſiring the

Queen Regent to do the ſame in *Scotland*; and to begin in time, before the Hereſie ſhould ſpread any further; which was already too far ſpread by her gentle forbearance, as had been reported to the King of *France*. Praying her diligently to take courſe therein without fear, or reſpect of perſons, ſeeing that no Country of it ſelf was able to withſtand the whole Forces of ſo many confederate Catholick great Princes.

It is above declared, that all thoſe Prelats who had great Rule and Authority for the time, had aſſiſted the Queen Regent in breaking the Contract of marriage with *England*, and tranſporting the young Queen to *France*. But the Archbiſhop of *S. Andrews* began to think that in caſe the young Queen died without ſucceſſion to her body, that the Earl of *Arran* his Nephew might the eaſilier be Crowned, the Governour his Father being already in poſſeſſion, was againſt the tranſporting the Crown matrimonial to *France*. And he having for the time, the guiding both of the Governour his Brother, and of the Country, drew eaſily the moſt part of the Clergy upon his ſide. Whereupon the Queen Dowager was compelled to addreſs her ſelf to a contrary Faction, to be the more in a capacity of compaſſing her deſign; to wit, to the Nobility and Barons, who were become Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, conniving at their ſecret Preaching, for further ingratiating her ſelf with them: whereby the Proteſtants ſo increaſed, that the moſt part of the Country became Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion. And ſuch as had upon that accompt been formerly baniſhed, as upon account of the ſlaughter of the Cardinal, were called home to fortifie the Faction that moſt furthered her deſigns. In the mean time the Biſhop of *St. Andrews* fell ſick, ſo that he loſt his Speech and was given over for dead. The Queen Dowager looks upon this as a fit opportunity of wreſting the Government out of the Lord *Hamiltons* hands, having the concurrence of the Lords that were Proteſtants, and their dependents, who were not a little incenſed at the ſaid Governour, becauſe he had been ſo influenced by his Brother, as by his Council to endeavour the ruine of their Religion. And the ways they took became effectual, he having been at laſt induced to reſign the Government into the Queens hands, who thereupon was declared Regent.

The Proteſtants were thus at this time her beſt friends, and by the diligent preaching of the Preachers, they were increaſed to ſo great a number, that ſhe judged it would prove a dangerous and difficult matter to compel them to deſert their Principles. But the inſtructions which *Bettancourt* brought to her, and to Monſieur *Doſel* Lieutenant in *Scotland* for the King of *France*, and to all others who had greateſt credit about her Majeſty were ſo ſtrict, and mixed with ſome threatnings, that ſhe determined to follow them. She therefore iſſued out a Proclamation a little before Eaſter, commanding every man great and ſmall to obſerve the Roman Catholick Religion, to reſort daily to the Maſs, that all ſhould make Confeſſion in the ear of a Prieſt, and receive the Sacrament. By word of mouth ſhe acquainted ſeveral of the Proteſtant Lords, that they behoved to deſert their Principles, ſhe ſhewed to them the Commiſſion, that was ſent her out of *France*, and the danger that would follow thereupon, if not obeyed.

When the Nobility and States of the Country perceived her to be in earneſt,

earneſt finding themſelves alſo threat'ned by Monſieur *Doſel*, they left the Court: And conſulting together what was meeteſt for them to do, they ſent unto her Majeſty the Earl of *Argile*, and Lord *James* Prior of St. *Andrews*, to ſhew her Majeſty, in name and behalf of the reſt, how that they had been permitted by her Majeſty, to keep their own Miniſters of a long time, ſometimes ſecretly, and ſometimes openly. That by her tolerance, their Religion had taken ſuch root, and the number of the Proteſtants ſo increaſed, that it was a vain hope to believe, they could be put from their Religion, ſeeing they were reſolved, as ſoon to part with their lives, as to recant.

The Queen Regent did as much diſ-reliſh this kind of Language, as they had done her Proclamation, ſo that ſhe began to perſecute, and they to ſtand to their own defence, binding themſelves together, under the name of the Congregation. Therefore they brake down Images, Kirks, and Cloiſters.

The Queen Regent ſent to *France*, advertiſing her Daughter, and her Husband of theſe diſorders, requiring help and Forces to ſuppreſs this in time, or elſe all would be loſt: Declaring that ſhe had ground of fear, that my Lord *James* Prior of St. *Andrews*, natural Son to *James* the Fifth, would under pretext of this new Religion, uſurp the Crown of *Scotland*, and pluck it clean away from the Queen her Daughter, unleſs ſudden remedy were applied thereto. Upon this advertiſement, ſome of the Council of *France* adviſed, preſently to raiſe a great Army for reducing of *Scotland*; but the Conſtable counſelled the King, whoſe Penſioner I was for the time, to ſend me unto *Scotland*. The King firſt gave me his Commiſſion by word of mouth, and then the Conſtable his chief Councellor, directed me at length in his Majeſty's preſence, as followeth.

Your Native Queen, ſaith he, is married here in *France* unto the *Dauphine*, and the King is informed by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, that a Baſtard Son to *James* fifth, called *Prior de St. Andre*, pretends under colour of Religion, to uſurp the Kingdom unto himſelf; his Majeſty knows that I was ever againſt the ſaid marriage, fearing thereby to make our old Friends our new Enemies, as is like to come to paſs this day. But I gave too great place to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, to deal in the affairs of *Scotland*, becauſe the Queen Regent is their Siſter. But now ſeeing their violent proceedings, are like to occaſion the loſs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I muſt needs meddle, and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that Nation, then apparently they have. I aſſure you that the King is reſolved to hazard his Crown, and all that he hath rather then that your Queen be robbed of her right, ſeeing ſhe is now married unto his Son. And he reſolves to ſend an Army to *Scotland* for that effect, though he would gladly ſhun the trouble thereof, if it were poſſible. For now after his Majeſty hath had Wars long enough with his old Enemies, and hath agreed with them upon very rational conſiderations, he is loath to enter again into a new unneceſſary War, with his old Friends. Seeing there is probable ground of conjecture, that it is not their default, but that the ſame is occaſioned by the harſh uſage they meet with. I hear that Monſieur *Doſel* is cholerick, haſty, and too paſſionate. Such are not qualified to rule over remote, and form'd Countries.

know not the reaſon why they followed it not, though I conjecture, that the variance which fell out between the Two Kingdoms hindered it. The *Engliſh* man and I, by the way, entered into great familiarity; ſo that he ſhewed me ſunsdry ſecrets of the Country, and of the Court. Among other thing he told me, that King *Henry* the Eighth, had in his life-time been ſo curious, as to enquire at Men called *Diviners*, or Negromancers, what ſhould become of his Son King *Edward* the Sixth, and of his two Daughters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. That anſwer was made unto him again, that *Edward* ſhould dye, having few days, and no Succeſſion; and that his Two Daughters ſhould the one ſucceed the other. That *Mary* his eldeſt Daughter ſhould marry a *Spaniard*, and that way bring in many ſtrangers to *England*, which would occaſion great ſtrife, and alteration. That *Elizabeth* ſhould Reign after her, who ſhould marry either a *Scottiſh* man, or a *French* man. Whereupon the King cauſed to give poiſon to both his Daughters, but becauſe this had not the effect, he deſired (for they finding themſelves altered by vehement vomitings, and purgings, having ſuſpected poiſon, had taken remedies) he cauſed to proclaim them both baſtards. But the Women that attended about Queen *Mary*, alledged that her matrix was conſumed. For ſhe was ſeveral times ſuppoſed to be with Child to King *Philip* of *Spain*, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of fleſh. Therefore to be revenged upon her Father, the *Engliſh* man told me, that ſhe had cauſed, ſecretly in the night to take up her Father's bones, and burn them. This the honeſt Gentleman affirmed to be truth, though not known to many. He was a Man of great gravity, about fifty years of age. When he came to *London*, he ſhewed me great kindneſs, and made me a preſent of ſome Books.

Upon my return to *France* I found a great change, King *Henry* the Second being hurt in the head with a ſhiver of a Spear, by the Count of *Montgomery*, at the Triumphal Juſtings of his Daughter's marriage with the King of *Spain*, dyed Eight days after at *Paris*. And the Conſtable my Maſter was commanded to retire him from Court, to his Houſe, by the new King, *Francis* the Second, Husband to our Soveraign: who was wholly guided by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal *Lorrain*, competitors to the ſaid Conſtable in Court emulation. Which occaſioned, that my Voyage, and the anſwer I had got, was all in vain: for the Houſe of *Guiſe*, were the chief inſtruments of all the troubles in *Scotland*.

When I did ſhew the Conſtable at his Houſe the anſwer, of my Commiſſion, which was according to his hearts deſire, the Tears came over his cheeks, crying alack for the loſs of the King my good Maſter, that he ſhould not have ſeen before his death, *Scotland* recovered again, which he eſteemed loſt: ſeeing you are thereby alſo fruſtrate of a good reward, which this your ſervice merited. Now I have not ſuch intereſt as I formerly had to advance you, but if you will take ſuch part as I have, you ſhall be very welcome. I anſwered, that as I had been with him in his proſperity, I would not deſert him in his adverſity.

Now there was no more appearance of concord betwixt the Queen Regent, and the Congregation in *Scotland*. For the King of *France* was raiſing Men to ſend thither: The Congregation again ſought help from *England*, which they obtained, the rather becauſe the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour reſident in *France*, had advertiſed his Miſtreſs, how that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband had taken the Style of *Egnland* and *Ireland*, and alſo had ingraven the Arms thereof upon their Silver Plate.

The Queen Regent, and Mounſieur *Doſel* with his *French* men, incloſe themſelves within *Leeth*, which they did fortifie to receive the *French* ſupply, which was daily expected. At length thoſe who were beſieged made a ſalley, cauſed the Congregation to fly, and took their Artillery, till an Army from *England*, came under the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*. At which the Queen Regent being indiſpoſed by the Sea Air at *Leeth*, retired her ſelf to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; where ſhe took ſickneſs and dyed, during the time that *Leeth*, was beſieged, both by *Scotland* and *England*, regreting that ſhe had occaſioned to her ſelf, and the Kingdom, ſo much unneceſſary trouble, by following the advice of her *French* friends.

During the Siege of *Leeth*, all *Scotch* men who were in *France*, were deteſted; and divers of them upon ſuſpicion made Priſoners. Which obliged me to repair from the Conſtable's Houſe, to the Court, to require Licenſe from the Queen my Soveraign, to viſit other Countries, whereby I might be rendered more able afterward to do her Majeſty agreeable ſervice. Which ſhe granted, and preſenting me to the King her Husband, I had a kiſs of his hand, and ſo took my leave.

The Conſtable my good Maſter, recommended me to the *Elector Palatine*, adviſing me to remain at his Court, to learn the *Dutch* Tongue. I was courteouſly received by the ſaid Prince Elector, and obtained ſuch favour at his hands, that he obliged me to attend at his Court, as one of his Servants. So ſoon as he heard of the death of King *Francis* the Second, King of *France*, who dyed at *Orleance*. I was ſent to condole for the ſaid King's death, as the cuſtom of Princes is, and rejoice with the new young King *Charles* the Ninth, alſo to comfort our Queen, and the Queen Mother. The King's death made a great change, the Queen Mother was glad at the death of King *Francis* her Son, becauſe ſhe had no guiding of him, he being wholly councelled by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal his Brother, the Queen our Miſtreſs, being their Siſter Daughter. So that the Queen Mother was much ſatisfied to be freed of the Government of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and for this cauſe ſhe entertained a great grudge at our Queen. In the mean time the King of *Navarr*, and Prince of *Conde*, who were impriſoned, and ſhould have been executed three days after, the Scaffold being already prepared, were by the Queen Mother ſet at liberty. The Conſtable alſo having been charged to come to Court, expected no better meaſure; he therefore gave it out that he was ſick, being carried in a Horſe-Litter, and making little Journeys, he drew out the time ſo long by the way, that in the mean time the King dyed. Whereof being informed he leapt on a Horſe, and came frankly to Court, and like a Conſtable commanded the Men of War, who were upon the Guards. The Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brother, were commanded out of the Town. The Queen Mother was her Mother, who was King *Chriſtiernus* Daughter of *Denmark*, begotten upon the Emperour *Charles* his Siſter, who alſo loſt the Kingdom of *Denmark*, pretending to make it Hereditable, whereas it was Elective. The ſaid King *Chriſtiernus* was kept in Priſon, till his death. This Dutcheſs his Daughter, alledged that the Kingdom of *Norway* appertained unto her, as Heir unto her Father, and that the ſaid Kingdom was Hereditary unto her Father, albeit *Denmark* was not, and intended then to marry her eldeſt Daughter unto *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, and to give over with her ſaid Daughter the Kingdom of *Norway*. But the ſaid Dutcheſs offered unto Duke *Caſimir* her ſecond Daughter, which he refuſed, and dealt with his Father to ſend me unto *England*, to propoſe Marriage for him unto the Queen of *England*. But I refuſed to undertake that Commiſſion, having ground to conjecture, that ſhe would never marry, upon the reflection I made upon that ſtory, one of the Gentlemen of her Chamber had told me, ſeeing ſhe knowing her ſelf unable for ſucceſſion, I ſuppoſed ſhe would never render her ſelf ſubject to any Man. The ſaid Duke was very much diſpleaſed at me, becauſe I refuſed.

About this time the *Cardinal of Lorrain* being at *Trent*, took occaſion to viſit the old Emperour *Ferdinand* at *Isbrack* his dwelling place, not far from *Trent*. And there the ſaid *Cardinal* propoſed two marriages, firſt the King of *France*, *Charles* the Ninth, to the eldeſt Daughter of *Maximilian* Son to *Ferdinand*, lately choſen King of the *Romans*, and co-adjutor to the Empire. Then he propoſed the Queen of *Scotland* Dowager of *France*, to *Charles* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, brother to the ſaid *Maximilian*.

The Queen was by this time returned to *Scotland*, and apparently had been advertiſed by the ſaid *Cardinal*, that he had propoſed the ſaid marriage, and it ſeems ſhe had reliſhed the Overture.

Her Majeſty returning was gladly welcomed by the whole Subjects. For at firſt, following the counſel of her friends, ſhe behaved her ſelf humanely to them all, committing the chief handling of her affairs unto her Brother the Prior of St. *Andrews*, whom afterward ſhe made Earl of *Murray*, and to the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, as meeteſt, both to hold the Countrey at her devotion, and alſo to beget a ſtrict friendſhip between her Majeſty, and the Queen of *England*. For my Lord *Murray* had great credit with my Lord *Robert Dudly*, who was afterward made Earl of *Leiceſter*. And the Secretary *Lidingtoun* had great credit with the Secretary *Cecil*. So that theſe four made a ſtrict and ſiſterly friendſhip, between the two Queens, and their Countries. So that there appeared outwardly no more difference, but that the Queen of *England* was the Eldeſt Siſter, and the Queen of *Scotland* the Younger, whom the Queen of *England* promiſed to declare ſecond perſon, according to her good behaviour. So that Letters and correſpondence paſt weekly betwixt them, and at firſt there appeared nothing more deſired by either of them, then that they might ſee one another, by a meeting at a convenient place, whereby they might alſo declare their hearty and loving minds each to other: For our *Queen* was ſo nettled with the hard uſage ſhe had met with from the *Queen Mother* of *France*, who had likewiſe hardly uſed all her friends of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, that ſhe was the more earneſt to make friendſhip with her, and with ſuch whom ſhe knew that *Queen* liked worſt. The two Queens this way keeping on their outward friendſhip for a while, with the plain and honeſt meaning of our Queen, as I afterward did perfectly know. There came a Letter to me out of *Scotland*, from the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, at the Queens command, deſiring me to make my ſelf acquainted with the *Arch-duke Charles* of *Auſtria*, youngeſt Brother to *Maximillian*, then King of the *Romans*, and Emperour in effect, for the Emperour *Ferdinand* his Father had nothing but the Name, by reaſon of his Age. I was deſired to inform my ſelf concerning his Religion, his Rents, and his Qualities, his Age, and Stature, and deſired to ſend home word, and therewith to ſend his Picture, if it could be done. It was thought I might obtain the occaſion thereof, by means of the *Elector Palatine* my Maſter, for the time greateſt in favour with the Emperour *Maximillian*.

Now my Lord *Elector* being at an Imperial Convention holden at *Ausbrugh*, had of his own head inquired of *Maximillian*, what the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain*'s buſineſs had been with his Father *Ferdinand*, when he came to ſee him from *Trent*. For the good *Elector* was afraid, it had been about ſome matters of Religion. For *Ferdinand* was a devout Catholick, and *Maximillian* appeared to be a zealous Proteſtant. For he was but lately choſen King of the *Romans* at *Francford*, not without difficulty. Being himſelf one of the *Seven Electors* as King of *Bohemia*, he was to ſue ſix *Electors* for their Votes: To wit, the *Elector Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, three Proteſtant Princes; and three Biſhops *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Collein*, Catholicks. Both theſe Factions were put in hope, that being *Emperour* he would declare himſelf of their principles. In the mean time he uſed ſecret preachings to pleaſe the Proteſtants, but he went openly to the *Maſs*, whereby the Biſhops thought themſelves aſſured of him. But the good *Elector Palatine* believed firmly, that after his Fathers death, he would declare himſelf a plain Proteſtant. Thus he won both parties to make him *Emperour*. He told the *Elector Palatine* at the Convention in *Ausbrugh*, that the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain* had propoſed two marriages to the Emperour his Father. The one was *Charles* young King of *France*, to his own Eldeſt Daughter; the other was the Queen of *Scotland* Dowager of *France*, to his Brother the *Arch-Duke Charles*. The *Elector* inquired how he reliſhed theſe two marriages; he anſwered he could not but like well of them, ſeeing he was not to expect a better match to his Daughter then the King of *France*, nor to his Brother then the Queen of *Scotland*, who the *Cardinal* alſo alledged had right to the Crown of *England*. The *Elector* ſaid, that ſince he was pleaſed with the Overture of marrying his Brother to the Queen of *Scotland*, that he had a *Scottiſh* Gentleman with him, who could be a good inſtrument to bring forward the ſaid marriage.

Whereupon *Maximillian* deſired to ſpeak with me, and becauſe for the time I was in the Countrey of *Heſs*, he deſired him to ſend me to him upon my return. Which the *Elector* did, and ſent with me one of his Councel, called Monſieur *Zuleger*, joining us in one Commiſſion. When we had given accompt of our ſaid Commiſſion, my companion told the *Emperour*, that I had a particular with his Majeſty, and ſo retired himſelf, leaving me alone in the Chamber. Where I preſented a Letter to him, written with the *Elector's* own hand, in *Dutch*, ſignifying that I was the *Scotſman*, whom he promiſed to ſend unto him. After he had read the writing, he did ſhew me the part wherein the *Elector* aſſured him, that I would ſhew im the truth of all ſuch things as I knew, which he would ask of me; ſaying You are much obliged to the *Elector Palatine*, for he hath given me a very good Character of you. I pray you, ſays he, tell me how long you have been in his company. I ſaid more then three years: he inquired why I did not anſwer in *Dutch*; I anſwered, becauſe I had the *French* more familiar, and knew that no Language could come wrong to his Majeſty. For he could very promptly ſpeak good *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *Sclavonian*, and *French*. Then he inquired again in *French*, how I came to the *Elector Palatine*. I told him, that being brought up at the Court of *France* with the *Conſtable*, there had fallen out ſome variance between *France* and *Scotland*, partly occaſioned from difference in Religion, and partly from other particulars, whence proceeded a general diſlike at the Court, of all *Scots-men* at that time in *France*, ſome being upon ſuſpicion impriſoned, others lookt down upon. The conſideration whereof, haſt'ned my proſecuting a former intention I had deliberated upon, of viſiting other Countries. That being minded to begin at *Dutchland*, the *Conſtable* of *France* had by his Letter addreſſed me to the *Elector Palatine*. He inquired how long I had remained with the *Conſtable*; I anſwered, nine years. He ſaid I was happy who had been ſo long in company with two of the wiſeſt Men in *Europe*, and was pleaſed to ſay that he was glad of the occaſion of being acquainted with me. He began more particularly to ſhew unto me the cauſe why he deſired to ſpeak with me, inquiring concerning the Eſtate of *Scotland*, of the late troubles with *France*, of the agreement new made, what great Men had the greateſt intereſt, and all the Noblemens Names who had aſſiſted both parties. He proceeded to inquire further, what help *England* had made unto *Scotland*, during the troubles with *France*, if they were bandied together, if their friendſhip continued, and of the Queen's title to *England*, if the Nobility of *Scotland* would concur to advance her to the Crown of *England*, if they would think it the intereſt of *Scotland* to have the two Kingdoms joined in one: ſeeing it was to be ſuppoſed, that the Queen or Prince would certainly chuſe to dwell in the beſt Country, and thereby would be further from them. Theſe, and ſeveral other things he inquired, and I anſwered as I thought moſt pertinent. When he had heard my returns, he was pleaſed to ſay it was not the leaſt good office that my Lord Elector had done him, in ſending me to him, and gave me thanks that I had been at the pains to come. If *Charles* my Brother, ſays he, were ſo happy as to obtain your Queen in marriage, no Man ſhall have more credit with him then you. He deſired me to abide with him ſome time, that he might diſcourſe with me at more length. So I tarried with him twenty days, with very favourable entertainment and diſcourſing with me ſeveral times, he put me in hope that his Brother *Charles* would be ſhortly at home: And gave me an accompt of ſuch news as came to him from all Countries. It was he who firſt told me, of the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, killed by *Poltrot*, at the Siege of *Orleance*. He appeared to be very glad at the death of that gallant Warriour, though I could not conjecture for the time what could move him. By frequent conference with him, I ſuſpected that he would be an Enemy to the marriage of his Brother with our Queen, but to get ſome further tryal thereof, I requeſted my companion Monſieur *Zuliger*, to drink himſelf merry with ſome of his Secretaries, and then to caſt in the purpoſe of the marriage of our Queen with Duke *Charles*, whether or no it was deſired or reliſhed by the Emperour. The ſaid Secretary ſhew'd him plainly, that he was againſt any ſuch preferment to his Brother, whereby he might become King both of *Scotland*, and *England*, by reaſon of an Eſſay that the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had made once, to divide his Dominions among the three Sons of *Ferdinand* his Brother, failing Heirs of King *Philip* his Son, who then had but one Son, Don *Carlo*, ſickly, and of a tender, weak complexion, whom he afterwards himſelf killed ſecretly in Priſon, ſuſpecting him to be of the Reformed Religion, and to keep intelligence with the Princes of *Flanders*, who profeſſed the ſame. And *Maximillian* hoped to ſucceed to the whole, failing Heirs of the ſaid Kig *Philip* as having married the ſaid *Philip's* Siſter, and having by her many Children of his own, whom he rather deſired to be preferred, then his own Brother. For in caſe the Arch-duke *Charles* had been made King of *Scotland* and *England*, he thought thereby he would have the fitter occaſion of uſurping the Low-Countrys, upon the pretext of ſome old right.

Having underſtood this I would wait no longer, but preſſed daily for my diſpatch, that I might return to my Lord *Elector*: And the Emperour again uſed great intreaties to oblige me to ſtay with him, promiſing to advance me if I would enter into his ſervice, but finding no inclination in me to comply with his deſire therein, he at length willed me to ſtay with him but half a year. But I humbly excuſed my ſelf, pretending that I behoved to be ſhortly in *Scotland*, which moved him the more earneſtly to deſire me to ſtay with him, which becauſe I would not grant to do, I found he was diſcontent. One night late after Supper, he parted in a Boat towards the Town of *Lintz*, and ſent his Secretary unto me, excuſing himſelf, that he did not meet with me before parting, ſeeing an urgent occaſion called for his ſpeedy departure; and ſeeing I was to return to *Scotland*, he had written a Letter to the Queen in my favour, which the Secretary delivered unto me. I told the Secretary, that I had not yet ſeen *Italy*, and that I was purpoſed firſt to viſit *Rome*, *Venice*, *Florence*, and the moſt remarkable Cities there, e're I returned to *Scotland*, upon which account, at firſt I refuſed the ſaid Letter, but he anſwered, there was no danger how long it was undelivered, ſeeing there was no thing therein contained, but what concerned my ſelf.

The Town of *Ausbrugh* being the neareſt Port of *Germany* to *Venice*, I agreed with Mounſieur *Euliger* to return toward my Lord *Elector*, and thence I tookmy Journey towards *Venice* and *Rome*. And came back through all the faireſt Cities of *Italy*, and through *Switzerland*, to *Heidlberg*, where the Prince Elector kept his Court.

I have above declared how that the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſlain by *Poltrot*, at the Siege of *Orleance*; It was after the battel of *Drues*, in the which baoth the chieftains were taken. The Prince of *Conde* for thoſe of the Religion, and the *Conſtable* for the King. The Queen Mother incontinently made the Peace, far againſt the mind of Madam de *Guiſe*, who earneſtly requeſted her, not to make the Peace ſo ſuddenly, leſt it ſhould be thought that the Duke of *Guiſe* had only had hand in the Wars. But nevertheleſs the Queen Mother went forward with the Peace, changing the Prince of *Conde* for the *Conſtable*, making them both good inſtruments of the agreement.

The Peace being made, the Queen Mother began to think upon a Wife for her Son King *Charles*. For that effect, ſhe ſent unto the Prince Palatine, a Secretary called Monſieur *Wyllot*, ſhewing unto him, that the King her Son, was very deſirous to marry *Maximilian's* Eldeſt Daughter intreating him as a truſty friend, to propoſe the matter as of his own head, as a ſteadable Alliance, conducing for the weal of the Empire, and to ſend her the picture of the Princeſs, which ſhe thought fit to be done upon ſome conſiderations, before ſhe would proceed more publickly. Which affair he went about moſt diligently, and he was pleaſed to ſend me with the anſwer and picture, with a congratulation of the late made Peace.

At my coming to the Court of *France*, which was at *Paris* for the time, the *Conſtable* would needs be my convoy, to the young King, and Queen Mother, who had a miſliking of the ſaid *Conſtable* for the time, becauſe he had brought in the *Admiral* to *Paris* againſt her will, who was accuſed to have promiſed reward unto the foreſaid *Poltrot*, to kill the Duke of *Guiſe*. The *Admiral* again deſired to come before the Privy Council to purge himſelf, offering to undergo his tryal. But the Queen Mother deſired not theſe animoſities among the great Men to be removed, but rather wiſhed that their hatred might continue, and their contentions increaſe, as having laid her Plot to ſecure her own greatneſs, by the means of their ſtrife, as was after manifeſtly ſeen. For during their diviſions, the Duke of *Guiſe*, King of *Navarr*, Prince of *Conde*, the *Conſtable*, the Marſhal *de St. Andre*, with the moſt notable great Men of *France* were all ſlain, and becauſe the ſaid *Admiral* eſcaped during the Wars, the Peace was made for the third time, and under the covert of marriage of the young King of *Navarr*, who was afterward King of *France*, the ſaid *Admiral* was barbarouſly murdered with all that remained of the wor thieſt Noblemen, and Captains of *France*. But to return to the purpoſe the *Conſtable* and *Admiral* were at Court at that time, againſt the Queen Mother's will, where the *Admiral* was declared innocent of the Duke of *Guiſe* his ſlaughter. And at that time the *Conſtable* determined to abide at Court, and to maintain himſelf in his Office of great Maſter by the authority of his great Office of the *Conſtablry*, aſſiſted by the, force of his friends. For he ſufficiently underſtood the Queen Mother's *Italian* tricks, therefore to win credit, he preſented me to the young King, and ſate down upon a Stool by him, and the Queen his Mother, and held his Bonnet upon his Head, taking upon him the full authority of his great Office, to the Queen Mother's great diſcontent whereat ſhe was ſo impatient, that ſhe turned away her face, when I was declaring my Commiſſion, after the delivery of my Letters of Credence to the King, and her, which the King was very glad to hear, being thereby put in hope, that the marriage would take effect. He was ſo deſirous to ſee the picture of that young Princeſs, that he cut the thread himſelf, that bound on the Wax-cloth about the ſaid picture. In the mean time I retired me forth of the Chamber; and was earneſtly ſought after the reſt of the day, but could not be found until the *Conſtable* and *Admiral* came to their Chamber, at Even, who inquiring of me the cauſe of my retiring, I remembred the *Conſtable*, in what a rage the Queen Mother was, when I delivered my Commiſſion, and that I found my ſelf obliged in honour to ſtand upon the reputation of my Maſter, who was a free Prince. Whereupon they appeared well ſatisfied, approving what I had done, but withal they told me, that they were the cauſe of that bad humour, the Queen Mother had been in, and that ſhe had made a Proclamation, that all Ambaſſadours ſhould Addreſs themſelves to the King, and her as Regent. Therefore they adviſed me, to go the next day to ſee her at Dinner, aſſuring me that ſhe would not fail to call for me, and inquire the cauſe of my abſenting, before I had told out my Commiſſion, and he inſtructed me what I ſhould ſay in anſwer. So ſoon as her Majeſty perceived me, ſhe deſired me to ſtay till ſhe had Dined, telling me that ſhe would ſend for her Son the King, to come to her Chamber, to hear out the reſt of my Commiſſion.

The King being come, the Chamber was voided, and her Majeſty firſt inquired, why I told not out the reſt of my Commiſſion the day before. I anſwered, as I had been inſtructed, how that it appeared to me, for the time, ſhe deſired not ſo many auditors, and that I ſtayed upon her better opportunity, which anſwer ſhe appeared much to reliſh, deſiring me when at any other time I ſhould be ſent again, to Addreſs my ſelf only to the King, and to her, and to no other. I anſwered, that among all the King's Servants, I was beſt acquainted with the *Conſtable*, and therefore had made him my Convoy to both their Majeſties. No, ſays ſhe, I find no fault that you Addreſſed your ſelf to him; yet I knew ſhe entertained a mortal hatred againſt him. So after I had ended the Declaration of my whole Commiſſion, firſt concerning the Congratulation of the Peace, and then made excuſes in Name of the Confederate Princes of the Empire, for ſending help to the Prince of *Conde*, during the Wars for Religion, with a requeſt to keep the ſaid Peace inviolate, and to make ſuch Laws of Oblivion, as were wont to be done among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, after ſuch Civil Diſſentions. And then I gave a full account, how my Lord *Elector* had proceeded with *Maximilian*, and what his anſwer was. All the time that I ſpoke ſhe remembred the King to take good notice, ſaying he was much obliged to that good Prince, that took ſuch pains for his marriage, and the weal of his Kingdom. Then ſhe drew me aſide entering into a particular diſcourſe with me, telling me that ſhe hoped I would not make too long ſtay in *Dutchland*, but reſolve to ſpend ſome of my time in the Court of *France*, ſeeing it was there I had been brought up. For albeit, ſhe ſaid ſhe had ſeveral who could ſpeak *Dutch*, yet there was none about her, who were ſo familiar with the Princes of the Empire as I was, or had ſuch favour and credit, as ſhe underſtood I had, to do the King and her ſervice. Therefore ſhe offered to make me a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, to provide me with an honourable Penſion, to advance me to Offices and Honours, as if I had been a *French-man* born; and that ſhe would imploy me not only to *Germany*, but alſo to *England* and *Flanders*. I gave her Majeſty many thanks, taking her offer to my conſideration. In the mean time that I was waiting upon my diſpatch, the *Admiral's* death was conſpired by the Brother and Friends of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to be executed by Captain *Charry*, in great favour with the Queen Mother, as Chief Captain of her Guard, Commanding ſix hundred *Hagbutiers Gaſcons*. The ſaid enterpriſe being diſcovered to the *Conſtable* by the old Dutcheſs of *Farrara*, Daughter to King *Lewis* the Eleventh, Mother to the Widow Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*. The *Conſtable* went to his Houſe, four Leagues from *Paris*, and the next day after, the ſaid Captain *Charry* was ſlain upon the ſtreets of *Paris*, by Mounſieur *Chattelier* the *Admiral's* friend. Which put the Queen, and all the Court into a fear, and firm opinion that the deed wsa done by the *Conſtables's* and *Admirals* direction. But the *Admiral* purged himſelf; the *Conſtable* was ſent for, and many requeſts made to him, to ſettle, and eſtabliſh quietneſs in the Court and City.

While I was yet at *Paris* undiſpatched, I received Letters from the Earl of *Murray*, and *Lidingtoun* at the Queens Command, calling me, home, to be imployed in her Majeſties ſervice, in ſome of her affairs of conſequence; which I preſuppoſed to be concerning her marriage. Whereupon I determined to obey my Queens Commands, and immediately after my return to *Germany*, to prepare for a Journey to *Scotland*. Though this reſolution of mine, was far contrary to the mind of the *Conſtable*, *Admiral*, and Prince *Palatine*. But his Son Duke *Caſimir*, took occaſion to deſire me to preſent his picture to Queen *Elizabeth*. I have ſaid already that he was very diſſatisfied, becauſe I refuſed to go to *England*, to propoſe marriage for him to the Queen, he having been incouraged thereto by the *Vidam* of Charters, lately come hither from the Court of *England*, who thought himſelf ſo familiar with that Queen, that it ſent an *Italian* Gentlemen of his, to propoſe that marriage, as he alledged, at the inſtance of the Elector Palatine, to whom the Queen gave a general anſwer, deſiring the young Prince to come unto *England*, either openly, or privately diſguiſed, and declaring that ſhe would never marry Man, till ſhe might firſt ſee him. Notwithſtanding hereof, I ſtill diſſwaded his Father from ſending him, alledging that he would be very chargeable to him, and that he would reap nothing but ſcorn in recompence. Whereat the young Prince was ſo moved, that he let the Court for three days. But the good Prince his Father ſent for him, threat'ning to diſcountenance him, if he became not my friend, Whereupon we agreed, that at this time I ſhould carry with me his picture, and preſent it to the Queen of *England* in my return to *Scotland*, ſeeing I was ſo averſe from his going thither in perſon. Which I was ſatisfied to do, providing that I might alſo carry along with me, the picture of his Father and Mother, and of all the reſt of his Brothers and Siſters, together with a familiar Letter from the Elector, whereby I might have the more eaſie acceſs, and fitter opportunity to bring in the purpoſe of the pictures, as by accident, hoping that ſhe would deſire to ſee them, eſpecially the picture of the ſaid young Duke.

So having obtained my deſire, I parted from *Heidlberg*, where the Elector held his Court for the time, who gave me a Commiſſion to the Queen of *England*; to wit, an anſwer to her demanded Alliance, offenſive, and defenſive, with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, which formerly had been but obſcurely anſwered unto her Ambaſſadour, Sir *Henry Knolls*, at the Dyet Imperial, holden at *Francfort*, in the year 1562. Excuſing himſelf, and the reſt of the Princes his confederates, who had but lately choſen *Maximillian* to be King of the *Romans*, and Co-adjutor to the Emperour his Father, ſeeing he had promiſed unto them, to declare himſelf openly a Proteſtant, ſo ſoon as he durſt, after the deceaſe of his old Father *Ferdinand*: and in the mean time had their promiſe to keep correſpondence with him, and to make no League with any foreign Prince, without his conſent and knowledge. And that if they had done otherwiſe, he might perchance have taken occaſion thereupon, to lay the blame upon them, in caſe he did not as he had promiſed. For they began to fear and doubt of his upright meaning in reference to Religion, and yet thought not fit upon their part, to give him any ground to lay the blame upon them; but in caſe he kept not his promiſe after the deceaſe of *Ferdinand*, they ſhould then preſently make ſuch Alliance with her, as ſhe had required, which they durſt not for the time diſcover unto her Ambaſſadour, requeſting her Majeſty to keep this ſecret to her ſelf.

She appeared ſatisfied with this excuſe, promiſing to diſcover it to none of her Council; but ſhe lamented that the Princes of *Germany* were ſo ſlow and tedious in all their deliberations. Whereupon I began to praiſe them for their Truth, Conſtancy, Religion, Ardour, and quick execution, after they had concluded any weighty matter. But I ſet out moſt ſpecially the Elector Palatine's humanity, his treating of Strangers, upholding of Univerſities, and how he was the mouth of his confederates, to deal with all other neighbour Princes. She anſwered, that I had reaſon to ſpeak ſo concerning him, for he had written very much in my favour, regretting that the inclinations I had to ſerve my native Queen, had obliged me to leave him, though he would gladly have retained me with him a longer ſpace. I told her Majeſty, what a great trouble it was to me, to reſolve to leave the ſervice of ſo worthy a Prince, that no conſideration could have engaged me thereunto, other then that duty I owed to my Soveraign, who had commanded me to attend her affairs. That for the better remembrance of him, I deſired to carry home with me his picture, and the pictures of all his Sons and Daughters. So ſoon as ſhe heard me mention the pictures, ſhe inquired if I had the picture of the Duke *Caſimir*, deſiring to ſee it. And when I alledged I had left the pictures in *London*, ſhe being then at *Hampton-Court*, and that I was ready to go forward on my Journey, ſhe ſaid I ſhould not part till ſhe had ſeen all the pictures. So the next day I delivered them all to her Majeſty, and ſhe deſired to keep them all night, and ſhe called upon my Lord *Robert Dudly* to be judge of Duke *Caſimir's* picture, and appointed me to meet her the next morning in her Garden, where ſhe cauſed to deliver them all unto me, giving me thanks, for the ſight of them. I again offered unto her Majeſty all the pictures, ſo ſhe would permit me to retain the Electors, and his Ladys, but ſhe would have none of them. I had alſo ſure information, that firſt and laſt ſhe deſpiſed the ſaid Duke *Caſimir*. Therefore I did write back from *London* to his Father, and him in Cypher, diſſwading them to meddle any more in that marriage. And received great thanks afterward from the ſaid young Duke, who immediately married the Elector of *Saxony's* Eldeſt Daughter. Albeit this may appear ſomething from the purpoſe of the Queen our Soveraign, yet it brings me home to her Majeſty with ſome propoſals of marriage to her ſelf. For the Queen of *England* entertained me very familiarly, ſhewing me the Siſterly love that was betwixt her and the Queen our Soveraign, how careful ſhe was of her well-fare, how deſirous to ſee her well ſetled in her own Country with her Subjects, and alſo well married. That ſhe was reſolved to propoſe two perſons for fit Husbands unto her, whereby their amity might beſt ſtand and increaſe, hoping that ſhe would not marry without her advice, promiſing upon her faith to write to me, ſo ſoon as I was arrived at *Scotland*, with her own hand, that I might be a good inſtrument to move the Queen my Miſtreſs to accept either the one or the other. Now though ſhe forgot to write unto me about it, yet ſhe ſent inſtructions to Mr. *Randolph*, to propoſe my Lord *Robert Dudley* as a very meet Husband for our Queen. I ſuppoſed that my Lord *Robert*, afterward Earl of *Leiceſter*, had diſſwaded her from imploying me in that matter, ſeeing Mr. *Randolph* was there already, her Majeſties Agent.

Now the Queen my Miſtreſs, to keep promiſe and correſpondence with the Queen of *England*, had ſent and advertiſed her, of the propoſal made to her of a marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles*, requiring her friendly advice and conſent therein.

The Queen of *England* anſwered her by her Agent Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, as followeth, for after a little Preface, he declares, and gives in by writing, this to be the Queen his Miſtreſs's mind.

The Queen my Soveraign, ſaid he, hath not only deeply adviſed about that propoſal of marriage with your Majeſty, but hath alſo thought it neceſſary, by me to ſhew you, what ſhe thinketh both meet and unmeet to be conſidered, and ſeemingly to her by way of friendſhip, to declare as a dear Siſter, who intends your Majeſties honour, and as a loving Friend, who is careful of your well-fare.

Three ſpecial things her Majeſty thinks fit to be conſidered in marriage.

Firſt, The mutual contentment betwixt both parties in reſpect of their private perſonages, ſo that their love each towards one another, may continue as well before God as Man.

Secondly, That the perſon may be ſuch as your Majeſty, being a Queen of a great Realm, and multitude of People, may be ſure of an advantageous Alliance, ſuch as cannot be prejudical to your Countries intereſt.

Thirdly, She thinks fit that the choice be ſuch, that the amity which is now ſo ſtrict betwixt the Queens Majeſty, and your Highneſs, not only for your own perſons, but with both Realms, may be continued, and not diſſolved nor diminiſhed. Then he declares at length, how that he doubts not, but that her Majeſty, who was once already married, will know how conſiderately to ponder the match, that it may be meet for her ſelf, and her Subjects; but as to what belonged unto the Queen his Sovereign, it merited to be well conſidered.

It is true, that the ſeeking out a Husband to your Majeſty is honourable, and expedient; a thing that her Majeſty relliſheth much in your Highneſs, albeit hitherto ſhe hath not found ſuch diſpoſition in her ſelf, remitting her heart and mind in that affair to be directed by the Almighty God.

But this herein her Majeſty conſidereth, that to ſeek out ſuch a Husband, as is ſought for by your friends, in the Emperours Linage, will certainly procure at laſt ſome miſunderſtanding, and give apparent occaſion of diſſolving the Concord, that is now betwixt the two Nations, and an interruption of ſuch a courſe, as otherwiſe might be taken, to further and advance ſuch a Title as your Highneſs hath to ſucceed to her Majeſty, to the Crown of *England*, if ſhe ſhould depart without iſſue of her Body.

Then he uſeth ſome unfit perſwaſions and menaces, threat'ning that ſome in *England* were going about with practices to ſet forward their pretended right, to her Majeſties prejudice, which ſhe by her diſcreet behaviour and conformity to his Miſtreſſes pleaſure, might prevent, by moving her thereby, not only to proceed in the inquiſition after your Majeſties right, and with her power to further the ſame, but alſo to hinder that which appears to be to the contrary.

And now if your Majeſty would know, what kind of marriage would beſt content her, and her Realm, ſuch a one as would breed no jealouſie, nor trouble betwixt your Majeſties, and your Countries, as did the marriage with the *French* King. But rather it is to be wiſhed, that there might be found out ſome Nobleman of great birth in *England*, who might be agreeable to you; with whom her Majeſty would more readily, and more eaſily declare, that ſhe inclines, that failing of Children of her own Body, you might ſucceed to her Crown; otherwiſe I do plainly tell you, that my Soveraign can promiſe nothing in that matter, tending to your ſatisfaction.

Theſe were Mr. *Randolph*'s firſt inſtructions, and propoſitions, unto the Queen, concerning her Marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles*. But he had a ſecret Commiſſion to my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun*, to propoſe my Lord *Robert Dudley*; and he deſired me alſo, to ſet forward his marriage with the Queen, as meeteſt of all other.

By this kind of procedure it was apparent, that the Queen of *England* did not reliſh this propoſal of marriage, of the Arch duke *Charles* to our Queen. She gave a farther, and more clear demonſtration thereof a little after, by ſending the Earl of *Suſſex* to the Emperour's Court, as well to congratulate his Coronation, as indirectly to draw on the marriage of the Arch-duke *Charles* with her ſelf. And ſhe was put in hope, that it would take effect: Yet this deſign was not ſo ſecretly managed, but our Queen was thereof advertiſed, by ſome of her friends in *England*. And from hence aroſe inward griefs and grudges between the two Queens, which within a little time burſted forth, occaſion thereof being given by the Queen of *England*: For in a familiar Letter to our Queen, ſhe appeared therein to give her, as formerly, a friendly advice: which our Queen thought but double dealing, remembring as well her late diſſwading anſwer from the marriage of the Arch-duke *Charles*, as her late practiſes in the Emperours Court. The Queen of *England*'s Letter was written at the deſire of ſome of the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*: For after that Mr. *Randolph* had ſpoken, as is above mentioned, againſt the marriage of the Queen with the Arch-duke *Charles*, and he alledged that ſome Noblemen in *England* would be fitter matches for her, he proceeded ſo far with my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun*, as to ſay, What would you think of my Lord *Robert Dudly* for your Queen? But finding ſmall account to be made of him, he advertiſed the Queen his Miſtreſs thereof. Whereupon liberty was granted to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, who dwelt then in *England*, to go to *Scotland*, as deſirous to ſee the Queen, and take courſe in ſome of his own affairs. Now his Eldeſt Son, my Lord *Darnly*, was a luſty young Prince, and apparently was one of the two that the Queen of *England* had told me that ſhe had in her head, to offer unto our Queen, as born within the Realm of *England*. But to return unto the Letter written by the Queen of *England* unto our Queen, ſhe would appear therein to be very careful for the Queen her Siſters quiet Eſtate and Government, deſiring her to take heed that in ſhewing pleaſure to the Earl of *Lennox*, ſhe did not diſpleaſe the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*, ſeeing thereby trouble and ſtrife might ariſe in her Country. Sundry other ſuch purpoſes ſhe had, which at ſome time would not have been taken in ill part; but now all advices given by the Queen of *England*, were miſconſtructed, partly becauſe of her being inſtrumental in hindring the marriage with Prince *Charles*, and partly becauſe *David Rixio* lately admitted to be her *French* Secretary, was not very skilful in inditing *French* Letters, which ſhe did write over again with her own hand. The anſwer then that our Queen did write unto the ſaid Letter, declared ſome ſuſpicions and anger to have been taken, and theſe ſhe manifeſted in ſome harſh expreſſions, which were conſtructed by the Queen of *England*, as a violation of their former familiarity, and Siſterly correſpondence, which had been ever kept up ſince the Queens return out of *France*. Whereupon enſued ſo great a coldneſs, that they left off for a conſiderable time from writing each to other, as they had formerly done weekly by Poſt. So that the Queen reſolved to ſend me to *England*, to renew their outward friendſhip; for in their hearts from that time forth there was nothing but jealouſies and ſuſpicions. The Queen my Miſtreſs thought that if their diſcord continued, it would cut off all correſpondendence between her and her friends in *England*: and that Queen had no inclination for War, but by all means poſſible deſired to ſhun trouble, or any occaſion of expences, the King of *Spain* and ſhe being already entered into controverſie. For he judged her a fomenter of the troubles in *Flanders*, and the Low Countries, and not without reaſon. For ſhe thought her ſelf abandoned by the King of *Spain*, at the late Peace made at *Cambray*, and her chief Councellers thought it convenient for the intereſt of *England*, that Factious ſhould be nouriſhed in *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and *Spain*.

At my home-coming to *Scotland*, I found the Queen's Majeſty at St. *Johnſtoun*, in the Year of God 1564, the fifth day of *May*. I was very favourably received by the Queens Majeſty, and preſented unto her Letters from the Emperour *Maximilian*, the Elector *Palatine*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and Duke of *Aumale*, all in my favours. After that I had at length informed her, that I found *Maximilian* was againſt the marriage of his Brother *Charles*; ſhe likewiſe underſtanding the Queen of *Englands* part therein, as is above ſpecified, ſhe altogether laid aſide any further thoughts of the marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles*. And whereas ſhe had once reſolved to have ſent me to *Germany*, ſhe takes another reſolution, intending that I ſhould be ſent to *England*. Though I was not yet reſolved in ſetling my ſelf in *Scotland*, ſeeing ſmall probability of advantage, and greater appearance of troubles and diſorders, then I could ever imagine to find at my home-coming. And I was ſomewhat loath to loſe the occaſion and offers of great preferment, that had been made to me in *France*, and other parts. But I found the Queen my Sovereign, ſo urgent, and of her ſelf well inclined, and indued with ſo many Princely vertues that I could not find in my heart to leave her, requiring ſo earneſtly my help and aſſiſtance, to draw the hearts of her Subjects to her, which were alienated upon account of difference in Religion. I knew ſhe ſtood in need to gain friends, and that it was much her intereſt to keep correſpondence with the Queen of *England*; ſo that I reſolved rather to ſerve her my native Queen for little profit, then any other Prince in *Europe* for great advantage. I found her naturally more liberal then her Revenues allowed her. For ſhe not only ſetled upon me in penſions, one thouſand Marks yearly, out of her Revenues in *France*, but ſhe alſo offered me her heritage of her Lands in *Aghtermughtie*, which I refuſed to accept, alledging I could better want it then ſhe. Though another hearing of ſo liberal an offer, a little after ſought and obtained it.

Thus I was engaged to reſolve to wait upon her commands, and to lay aſide all hope of any other preferment in *France*, and other Countries, albeit, for the time, I had no heritage but my ſervice. So within a few weeks I was diſpatched to *England*, with theſe following Inſtructions out of the Queens own mouth, to deal with the Queen of *England*, with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, and with my Lady *Margaret Douglaſs*, and with ſundry friends ſhe had in *England* of different opinions. The general Inſtructions were written with the Secretary *Lidingtoun*'s own hand, ſubſcribed by her Majeſty as follows.

Inſtructions to our familiar Servitor James Melvil *preſently directed to our deareſt Siſter the Queen of* England. *Given at* Edinbrugh *the* 28th *of* September, 1564.

IN the firſt, after that you have preſented our Letters, and our commendations, in moſt hearty manner, you ſhall declare unto our good Siſter, That having been upon my progreſs towards the Northmoſt parts of our Realm this two months, during which time we have had neither Letter nor other Advertiſement from our good Siſter. Therefore for continuation of the mutual Intelligence betwixt us, by all good Offices of amity, we reſolved to direct you towards her, to viſit her on our behalf, to inform her of our health and good eſtate, that, at your return you may be able to report the like of her unto us, ſhe being the perſon in the World, to whom next our ſelf, we wiſh moſt good luck and proſperity.

Item, That by Letters of my Lord *Robert* to *Lidingtoun*, as alſo of her Secretary to Our Brother *Murray*, and to *Lidingtoun*, We have perceived that Our ſaid good Siſter finds ſome fault with Our Letters written to her in anſwer of hers in the Earl of *Lennox*'s matter, as if We had taken her motion therein in evil part. We are moſt ſorry that Our Letters have been ſo interpreted, for of a truth We had no other meaning of her in that matter, then that her Advertiſement came from a friendly mind, and was both worthy of thanks, and to be anſwered with the like good will, as We believe We did in Our Letter, albeit We remember not preſently the very words or ſubſtance thereof. For We uſe not to reſerve any Copy of Our familiar Letters written with Our own hand, whereof We now repent becauſe of that Letter. For if We had any Copy thereof, We might now clear Our ſelves of that doubt, *viz.* What words therein could give her ground of offence. Therefore you ſhall pray her in Our Name, to let you ſee in that Letter, what words they are which have offended her; that you thereupon declaring my meaning, may put her out of any ſuch ſuſpicion. It is true, at the receipt of the Letter, We were ſomewhat offended, and judged We had good cauſe, ſeeing it appeared that Our Nobility were grieved with Our Licenſe granted to the Earl of *Lennox*, that his coming was like to diſturb the peace and quiet of Our Realm. Our *Brother* and *Lidingtoun*, ſhew unto Us, that they perceived by their Secretaries Letters, that they were alſo thought partakers in this matter; and that they miſtaking alſo his coming, deſired the ſtay thereof to be procured by theſe undecent means. Though they proteſted the contrary unto Us, and indeed We have better proof of their fidelity toward Us, then that We can ſuſpect any ſuch double dealing from their hands, they being ſo far obliged to Us, and ſo much intruſted by us. We thought Our ſelves little indebted to that perſon, whoſoever he was, that made ſuch report of Our Subjects, that they would make known their grievances to any other then Our ſelves.

Theſe, and the like conſiderations, moved Us to great choller, which probably might have occaſioned Us to write the more freely, and that We were not curious to cover Our paſſions, writing to her with whom We eſteemed Our Selves ſo familiar, that We had ground to believe ſhe would take all in good part that proceeded from Us, eſpecially what was no ways deſigned for her offence. Therefore you ſhall pray her to put away all ſuch opinions, if ſhe have conceived any, and if there be any word in Our Letter having two ſenſes, ſo that any one may be miſconſtrued, and ſo give to her occaſion of offence; intreat that ſhe will rather interpret the ſame to the gentleſt ſignification, and not take it in the worſt ſenſe. And then I doubt not but the whole Letter, ſhall appear to her as it was by Us conceived and directed, that is from one dear friend to another.

We have further hereupon, imparted Our mind to you by mouth; which you may enlarge as occaſion requires.

You may deſire her to give you an anſwer conform to the ſubſtance of *Lidingtoun*'s Letters, written to my Lord *Robert*, and Mr. *Cicil.* Eſpecially concerning the drawing on another meeting of Men of credit; fully inſtructed with both Our minds, and to deal ſo plainly, and frankly as all ſuſpicion may have an end.

You muſt alſo inform your ſelf diligently concerning the proceedings, and intentions of this preſent Parliament, of all ſuch as can give you any knowledg therein, for what cauſe it is called, what is to be treated in it, how long it will ſit. Endeavour to inform your ſelf, if any thing touching Us, will be therein handled. You may ſay to that Queen, as out of your own head, that your Miſtreſs expects that ſhe will ſuffer nothing to be treated therein, that may directly or indirectly tend to Our prejudice, We not being by her forewarned thereof. She knows that as well Our ſelf, as our Miniſters whom We have at any time directed to theſe parts, have ever depended upon her only advice, and followed the ſame in all points. And ſeeing the ſpecial matter moved, in the beginning of the laſt Parliament, was the eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion, and that it was probable, that the Subjects would yet be earneſt to be at a certainty in that point. And if ſhe omits ſo good an occaſion, of doing ſomething for Us, whereby the World may underſtand that ſhe uſeth Us, and eſteems Us, as her next Couſin, and only Siſter, the World will think that her amity is not ſo great, as We take it to be. And ſuch as envy our familiarity, and would have it broken, will hence take occaſion to ſpeak, that our friendſhip is rather in words, then deeds.

Mary R.

Being arrived at *London*, I lodged near the Court, which was at *Weſtminſter*. My Hoſt immediately gave advertiſement of my coming, and that ſame night her Majeſty ſent Mr. *Hatton*, afterward Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, in her name to welcome me, and to ſhew me, that the next morning ſhe would give me Audience in her Garden at eight of the Clock. She had been advertiſed by the Eral of *Bedford* Governour of *Berwick*, that I was upon the way. That ſame night I was viſited by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, one of my old and deareſt friends, by long acquaintance. Firſt during his baniſhment in *France*, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and afterward while he was Ambaſſadour in *France* for this Queen, where I was, for the time, Penſioner to King *Henry* the Second, and Servant to the Conſtable. This Sir *Nicholas* was my dear friend, and had procured a Penſion for me from his Miſtreſs, to help to entertain me on my Travels, when I had willingly baniſhed my ſelf the Court of *France*, ſo long as there were Civil Wars between *France* and *Scotland*. He was a devout friend to the Queen my Miſtreſs, and to her Right and Title to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*. From him I had full information of affairs, and friendly advice how to proceed with the Queen, and every Courtier in particular. For he was a ſpecial inſtrument of helping my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun*, to pack up the firſt friendſhip betwixt the two Queens; and betwixt the Earl of *Murray* and Lord *Robert*; and between the two Secretaries. Albeit he had no great kindneſs either for my Lord *Robert* or Secretary *Cicil*, yet he knew that nothing could be done without them. Among other counſels, he gave me advice to uſe great familiarity with the Ambaſſadour of *Spain*, in caſe I found the Queen his Miſtreſs hard to be dealt with, alledging that it would be a great Spur to move the Queen of *England*, to give our Queen greater, and more ſpeedy contentment in her deſire, then yet ſhe had done.

The next morning Mr. *Hatton*, and Mr. *Randolph* late Agent for the Queen of *England* in *Scotland*, came to my Lodging, to convoy me to her Majeſty, who was, as they ſaid, already in the Garden. With them came a Servant of my Lord *Robert's*, with a Horſe and Footmantle of Velvet laced with Gold, for me to ride upon. Which Servant, with the ſaid Horſe, waited upon me all the time that I remained there. I found her Majeſty walking in an Alley. And after I had kiſſed her hand, and preſented my Letter of Credence, I told her Majeſty in *French* the effect of my Commiſſion, as near to the aforeſaid Inſtructions as I could, and ſometimes being interrupted by her demands, I anſwered as I judged moſt pertinent. The reaſon why I ſpoke *French*, was, that being but lately come home, I could not ſpeak my own Language ſo promptly as was requiſite. Her firſt demand was concerning the Letter, that the Queen had written to her with ſuch deſpiteful Language, that ſhe thence conjectured all friendſhip and familiarity to have been given up. Which had made her reſolve never to write any more, but another as deſpiteful, which ſhe took out of her pocket, to give me to read, ſhe having had it already written to ſhew it me. She told me ſhe had hitherto delayed to ſend it, becauſe ſhe thought it too gentle, till ſhe had written another more vehement, for anſwer to the Queens angry Bill. For my part I appeared to find ſuch hard interpretation to be made upon the Queen's loving and frank dealing, very ſtrange. I told her Majeſty that my Miſtreſs could not call to mind, what words they were which had given her ſuch offence. Whereupon ſhe brought forth the Queens Letter, giving it me to read. Which when I had peruſed, I ſaid I could find therein no offenſive word, when I conſidered the familiarity had formerly been betwixt them. Alledging, that albeit her Majeſty could ſpeak as good

French, as any who had not been out of the Country, that yet ſhe was out of uſe of the *French* Court Language, which was frank and ſhort, and had frequently two ſignifications; which familiar friends took always in the beſt part. Intreating her Majeſty to tear the angry Letter, which ſhe thought to have ſent in anſwer. And in revenge of the Queens, I proteſted that I ſhould never let her Majeſty know that her true plain meaning had been ſo miſconſtructed. Having toſſed ſome words upon this matter, ſhe being deſirous of an honeſt colour or pretext, ſhe appeared the more readily ſatisfied in that point. For the fear ſhe had that friendſhip and correſpondence ſhould altogether break off, our Queen being the firſt ſeeker to renew and continue the ſame, by ſending me thither, thereby evidencing that ſhe did not ſtand upon Ceremonies with her Eldeſt Siſter, in my preſence then ſhe did rent her angry Letter, with promiſe of ſuch friendly and frank dealing in times coming, as all her good Siſter's dealings and proceedings ſhould be interpreted to the beſt.

Thus the old friendſhip being renewed, ſhe inquired, if the Queen had ſent any anſwer to the propoſition of marriage made to her by Mr. *Randolph.* I anſwered, as I had been inſtructed, That my Miſtreſs thought little or nothing thereof, but expected the meeting of ſome Commiſſioners upon the Borders, with my Lord of *Murray,* and the Secretary *Lidingtoun,* to confer and treat upon all ſuch matters of greateſt importance, as ſhould be judged to concern the quiet of both the Countries, and ſatisfaction of both their Majeſties minds. For ſeeing your Majeſty cannot ſo ſoon find the opportunity of meeting betwixt your ſelves, ſo much deſired, which in it ſelf is not ſo expedient until all other jealouſies be firſt removed, and all former doubts cleared by your moſt truſty and familiar Councellors, the Queen my Miſtreſs, as I have ſaid, is minded to ſend for her part my Lord of *Murray,* and the Secretary *Lidingtoun,* and expects that your Majeſty will ſend my Lord of *Bedord,* and my Lord *Robert Dudley.* She anſwered, It appeared that I made but ſmall account of my Lord *Robert,* ſeeing that I named the *Earl* of *Bedford* before him, but ſaid, that e're long ſhe would make him a far greater Earl, and that I ſhould ſee it done before my returning home. For ſhe eſteemed him as her Brother, and beſt friend, whom ſhe would have her ſelf married, had ſhe ever minded to have taken a Husband. But being determined to end her life in Virginity, ſhe wiſhed that the Queen her Siſter might marry him, as meeteſt of all other with whom ſhe could find in her heart to declare her ſecond perſon. For being matched with him, it would beſt remove out of her mind all fears and ſuſpicions, to be offended by any uſurpation before her death. Being aſſured that he was ſo loving and truſty, that he would never permit any ſuch thing to be attempted during her time. And that the Queen my Miſtreſs might have the higher eſteem of him, I was required to ſtay till I ſhould ſee him made Earl of *Leiceſter,* and Baron of *Denbigh*; which was done at *Weſtminſter* with great ſolemnity, the Queen her ſelf helping to put on his Ceremonial he ſitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But ſhe could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, ſmilingly tickling him, the *French* Ambaſſadour and I ſtanding by. Then ſhe turned, asking at me, *How I liked him?* I anſwered, that as he was a worthy Servant, ſo he was happy who had a Princeſs, who could diſcern and reward good Service. Yet, ſays ſhe, you like better of yonder long Lad, pointing toward my Lord *Darnly*, who as neareſt Prince of the Blood, did bear the Sword of Honour that day before her. My anſwer was, That no woman of ſpirit would make choice of ſuch a Man, who more reſembled a Woman then a Man. For he was handſom, beardleſs, and Lady faced. And I had no Will that ſhe ſhould think that I liked him, or had any eye or dealing that way. Albeit I had a ſecret charge to deal with my Lady *Lennox*, to endeavour to procure liberty for him to go to *Scotland* (where his Father was already) under the pretext of ſeeing the Countrey, and conveying the Earl his Father back again to *England*. Now I found the Queen of *England* was determined to treat with my Sovereign, firſt concerning her marriage with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and for that effect ſhe promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners unto the Borders. In the mean time, I was very favourably, and familiarly uſed. For during nine days that I remained at the Court, it pleaſed her Majeſty to confer with me every day, and ſometimes thrice in a day, in the morning, after Dinner, and after Supper. Sometimes ſhe would ſay, that ſeeing ſhe could not meet with the Queen her good Siſter, to confer with her familiarly, that ſhe was reſolved to open a good part of her inward mind to me, that I might ſhew it again unto the Queen. She told me ſhe was not ſo much offended with the Queens angry Letter, as that ſhe ſeemed ſo far to diſdain the marriage of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, which ſhe had cauſed Mr. *Randolph* to propoſe to her. I anſwered, That it was probable he had let fall ſomething thereof to my Lord of *Murray*, and *Lidingtoun*, but that he had never propoſed the matter directly to her ſelf, and that as well her Majeſty, as thoſe who were her moſt familiar Councellors, could conjecture nothing thereupon, but delays and driving off time concerning the declaring of her to be ſecond Perſon, which would be clearly tryed at the meeting of the Commiſſioners above ſpecified. She replied, That the tryal and declaration thereof, would be haſted forward according to the Queens good behaviour, and applying her ſelf to follow her pleaſure and advice in her marriage. And ſeeing the matter concerning the ſaid declaration was ſo weighty, and of ſo much import, ſhe had ordered ſome of the beſt Lawyers in *England*, diligently to ſearch out who had the beſt right, and ſhe heartily wiſht it might be found to be her dear Siſter, rather than any other. I ſaid I was very confident that her Majeſty was ingenuous in that Declaration, and that my Miſtreſs expected no other at her hand. But I lamented, that even the wiſeſt Princes, did not ſufficiently pry into the hidden deſigns of their familiar Councellors, and Servants, except it were ſuch an honourable and rare Prince as *Henry* the Eighth, her Majeſties Father of happy memory, who of his own head was determined to declare his Siſters Son, King *James* the Fifth, Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, failing Heirs to be gotten of his own Body, while her Majeſty was not yet born, but only her Siſter Queen *Mary*, and that for the earneſt deſire he had to unite this whole Iſland. She ſaid ſhe was glad he did it not. I ſaid, that then he had but one Daughter, and expected no more Children, and yet he had not ſo many ſuſpicions in his head as your Majeſty hath, though you are certainly convinced you will never have any Children, ſeeing your Majeſty declares your ſelf reſolved to dye a Virgin. Yes, ſays ſhe, I am reſolved never to marry, if I be not thereto neceſſitated by the Queen my Siſter's harſh behaviour toward me. I know the truth of that Madam, ſaid I, you need not tell it me. Your Majeſty thinks if you were married, you would be but Queen of *England*, and now you are both King and Queen: I know your ſpirit cannot endure a Commander. She appeared to be ſo affectionate to the Queen her good Siſter that ſhe expreſſed a great deſire to ſee her. And becauſe their ſo much, by her, deſired meeting could not be ſo haſtily brought to paſs, ſhe appeared with great delight to look upon her Majeſties picture. She took me to her Bed-chamber, and opened a little Cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within Paper, and their Names written with her own hand upon the Papers. Upon the firſt that ſhe took up was written, *My Lord*'s *Picture*. I held the Candle, and preſſed to ſee that picture ſo named, ſhe appeared loath to let me ſee it, yet my importunity prevailed for a ſight thereof, and found it to be the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s picture. I deſired that I might have it to carry home to my Queen, which ſhe refuſed, alledging that ſhe had but that one picture of his. I ſaid, your Majeſty hath here the Original, for I perceived him at the fartheſt part of the Chamber, ſpeaking with Secretary *Cicil*. Then ſhe took out the Queens picture and kiſſed it, and I adventured to kiſs her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my Miſtreſs. She ſhewed me alſo a fair Ruby, as great as a Tenis Ball, I deſired that ſhe would either ſend it, or my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s picture, as a Token unto the Queen. She ſaid, if the Queen would follow her counſel that ſhe would in proceſs of time get all ſhe had; that in the mean time ſhe was reſolved in a Token to ſend her with me a fair Diamond. It was at this time late after Supper, ſhe appointed me to be with her the next morning by Eight of the Clock, at which time ſhe uſed to walk in her Garden. She inquired ſeveral things of me relating to this Kingdom, and other Countries wherein I had travelled. She cauſed me to dine with her Dame of Honour, my Lady *Strafford* (an honourable and godly Lady, who had been at *Geneva* baniſhed during the Reign of Queen *Mary*) that I might be always near her, that ſhe might confer with me. I had formerly been acquainted with my Lady *Strafford*, as ſhe paſſed through *France*. I had good intelligence from her and my Lady *Throgmorton*. At divers meetings we had divers purpoſes. The Queen my Miſtreſs had inſtructed me to leave matters of gravity ſometimes, and caſt in merry purpoſes, leſt otherwiſe I ſhould be wearied, ſhe being well informed of that Queens natural temper. Therefore in declaring my obſervations of the cuſtoms of *Dutchland*, *Poland*, and *Italy*, the Buskins of the Women was not forgot, and what Countrey Weed I thought beſt becoming Gentlewomen. The Queen ſaid ſhe had Cloths of every ſort, which every day thereafter, ſo long as I was there, ſhe changed. One day ſhe had the *Engliſh* Weed, another the *French*, and another the *Italian*, and ſo forth. She asked me which of them became her beſt? I anſwered, in my judgment the *Italian* dreſs, which anſwer I found pleaſed her well, for ſhe delighted to ſhew her golden coloured hair, wearing a Caul and Bonnet as they do in *Italy*. Her hair was more reddiſh then yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She deſired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed beſt, and whether my Queens hair or hers was beſt, and which of them two was faireſt. I anſwered, the fairneſs of them both was not their worſt faults. But ſhe was earneſt with me to declare, which of them I judged faireſt? I ſaid ſhe was the faireſt Queen in *England*, and mine the faireſt Queen in *Scotland*. Yet ſhe appearedearneſt. I anſwered, they were both the faireſt Ladies in their Countries; that her Majeſty was whiter, but my Queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of higheſt ſtature? I ſaid, my Queen: Then, ſaith ſhe, ſhe is too high, for I my ſelf am neither too high nor too low. Then ſhe asked what kind of exerciſes ſhe uſed? I anſwered that when I received my diſpatch, the Queen was lately come from the High-land hunting. That when her more ſerious affairs permitted, ſhe was taken up with reading of Hiſtories: That ſometimes ſhe recreated her ſelf in playing upon the Lute, and Virginals. She asked if ſhe played well? I ſaid reaſonably for a Queen.

That ſame day after Dinner my Lord of *Hunſdean* drew me up to a quiet Gallery, that I might hear ſome Muſick, but he ſaid that he durſt not avow it, where I might hear the Queen play upon the Virginals: After I had hearkned awhile, I took by the Tapiſtry that hung before the door of the Chamber, and ſeeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the Chamber, and ſtood a pretty ſpace hearing her play excellently well, but ſhe left off immediately, ſo ſoon as ſhe turned her about and ſaw me. She appeared to be ſurprized to ſee me, and came forward, ſeeming to ſtrike me with her hand, alledging ſhe uſed not to play before Men, but when ſhe was ſolitary to ſhun melancholly. She asked how I came there? I anſwered, as I was walking with my Lord of *Hunſdean*, as we paſt by the Chamber door, I heard ſuch melody as raviſhed me, whereby I was drawn in e're I knew how, excuſing my fault of homelineſs, as being brought up in the Court of *France*, where ſuch freedom was allowed; declaring my ſelf willing to endure what kind of puniſhment her Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to inflict upon me for ſo great an offence. Then ſhe ſate down low upon a Cuſhion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand ſhe gave me a Cuſhion, to lay under my knee, which at firſt I refuſed, but ſhe compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady *Strafford* out of the next Chamber, for the Queen was alone. She inquired whether my Queen or ſhe played beſt? In that I found my ſelf obliged to give her the praiſe. She ſaid my *French* was good, and asked if I could ſpeak *Italian*, which ſhe ſpoke reaſonably well. I told her Majeſty I had no time to learn the Language perfectly, not having been above two Months in *Italy*. Then she ſpake to me in *Dutch*, which was not good; and would know what kind of Books I moſt delighted in, whether Theology, Hiſtory, or Love matters? I ſaid, I liked well of all the ſorts. Here I took occaſion to preſs earneſtly my diſpatch, ſhe ſaid I was weary ſooner of her company, then ſhe was of mine. I told her Majeſty that though I had no reaſon of being weary, I knew my Miſtreſs her affairs called me home, yet I was ſtayed two days longer, till I might ſee her Dance, as I was afterward informed. Which being over, ſhe inquired of me whether ſhe or my Queen Danced beſt? I anſwered, the Queen Danced not ſo high, and diſpoſedly as ſhe did. Then again ſhe wiſhed, that ſhe might ſee the Queen at ſome convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her ſecretly to *Scotland* by Poſt, clothed like a Page, that under this diſguiſe ſhe might ſee the Queen as *James* the Fifth had gone in diſguiſe to *France* with his own Ambaſſadour, to ſee the Duke of *Vendom's* Siſter, who ſhould have been his Wife. Telling her that her Chamber might be kept in her abſence, as though ſhe were ſick; that none needed to be privy thereto except my Lady *Strafford*, and one of the Grooms of her Chamber: She appeared to like that kind of Language, only anſwered it with a ſigh, ſaying, alas if I might do it thus. She uſed all the means ſhe could, to oblige me to perſwade the Queen of the great love ſhe did bear unto her, and that ſhe was fully minded to put away all jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and in times-coming to entertain a ſtricter friendſhip then formerly. She promiſed that my diſpatch ſhould be delivered to me very ſhortly at *London*, by Secretary *Cicil*: For now ſhe was at *Hampton Court*, where ſhe gave me my anſwer by mouth her ſelf, and her Secretary by writing.

The next day my Lord of *Leiceſter* deſired me to go down the River in his Barge with him to *London*. He had in his company Sir *Henry Sidney* Deputy of *Ireland*. By the way my Lord entered familiarly into diſcourſe with me, alledging that he was well acquainted with my Lord of *Murray*, *Lidingtoun*, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, and that he was by report ſo well acquainted with me, that he durſt upon the Character he had heard of me, deſire to know what the Queen my Miſtreſs thought of him, and the marriage that Mr. *Randolph* had propoſed. Whereunto I anſwered very coldly, as I had been by my Queen commanded. Then he began to purge himſelf of ſo proud a pretence; as to marry ſo great a Queen, declaring he did not eſteem himſelf worthy to wipe her Shoes; declaring that the invention of that propoſition of marriage proceeded from Mr. *Cicil* his ſecret Enemy. For if I, ſays he, ſhould have appeared deſirous of that marriage, I ſhould have offended both the Queens, and loſt their favour. He intreated me to excuſe him at her Majeſties hands, and to beg in his Name, that ſhe would not impute that matter to him, but to the malice of his Enemies.

Being landed at *London*, our Dinner was prepared by the Earl of *Pembroke*, who being great Maſter, yet humbled himſelf ſo far as to ſerve the ſaid Table, as Maſter of the Houſhold himſelf. He was a devout friend to my Queens Title of ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*.

After Dinner, I took leave of the *French* Ambaſſadour, and the *Spaniſh*, having received divers advertiſements from them. My Lord of *Leiceſter*, beſide what he had ſpoke to me, did write to my Lord of *Murray* to excuſe him at the Queens hands. The day appointed I received my diſpatch from Secretary *Cicil*, together with a Letter of Credit and a more ample Declaration of the Queens mind, touching the ſame anſwers ſhe had made me her ſelf. He gave me alſo a Letter to Secretary *Lidingtoun*. For as is aboveſaid, Secretary *Cicil*, and

Leiceſter, my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun* ruled both Queens, and as yet kept good correſpondence together. When I took my leave, Secretary *Cicil* conveyed me through the Cloſe, to the outer Gate of the Palace, where he himſelf put a fair Chain about my Neck. My Lady *Lennox*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* ſent many good advices to the Queen, to be followed according as occaſion offered. My Lady *Lennox* ſent alſo Tokens, to the Queen a Ring with a fair Diamond; ſhe ſent an Emerauld to my Lord her Husband, who was yet in *Scotland*; a Diamond to my Lord of *Murray*; a Watch ſet with Diamonds and Rubies to the Secretary *Lidingtoun*; a Ring with a Ruby to my Brother Sir *Robert*. For ſhe was ſtill in good hope, that her Son my Lord *Darnly*, would come better ſpeed concerning the marriage of our Queen, then the Earl of *Leiceſter*. She was a very wiſe and diſcreet Matron, and had many favourers in *England* for the time.

At my return, I found the Queens Majeſty ſtill at *Edinbrugh*. To whom I declared at large my manner of proceding with the Queen of *England*, and gave her Majeſty her anſwers to the ſpecial heads of my inſtructions in writing.

Her Majeſty anſwered to the firſt, that whereas the Queen thought the time very long ſince ſhe received either word or writ from her, whereby ſhe might underſtand of her good eſtate, and had ſent me thither to viſit her in her behalf, that she thought the time as long, albeit ſhe had conceived ſome diſpleaſure concerning the angry Letter. Which was the greater, in reſpect it appeared that ſhe diſdained the offer of the beſt good ſhe had to give, to wit, the Man whom ſhe eſteemed as her Brother. And whereas ſhe had ſent me to viſit her, ſhe was more ſatisfied with my coming, then ſhe would have been with any other, being formerly of her acquaintance, with whom ſhe could the more familiarly declare her inward mind to the Queen my Miſtreſs, ſeeing ſhe could not meet with her ſelf, ſo ſoon as ſhe deſired. As I might declare how familiarly ſhe had conferred with me, acquainting me with all her inward griefs and deſires, and how well ſhe was ſatisfied, and how willing to continue all good offices of amity, and that ſhe would for that effect, ſend ſhortly down to the Border, Commiſſioners, who were named by her ſelf, to meet with my Lord of *Murray* and *Lidingtoun*.

As for the Parliament, it was yet in doubt whether it held or not. If it held, the Queen ſhould get no hurt in her Right, neither directly nor indirectly, but ſhe ſhould be forewarned in due time.

Then I ſhewed her Majeſty at length, of all other purpoſes that fell out occaſionally betwixt that Queen and me, together with the opinions and advertiſements of divers of her friends in *England*, as well Catholicks as Proteſtants. I gave her, at the deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, the intimation of his Kings good will toward her.

Her Majeſty was very glad that matters were brought again to this paſs, between her and the Queen of *England*, having thereby occaſion of getting intelligence from a great number of Noblemen, and others her friends in *England*. For ſhe was alſo afraid, that the blame of the diſcord, would have been laid upon her if it had continued.

After that her Majeſty had at great length underſtood all my management and proceedings in *England*, ſhe inquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly toward her inwardly in her heart, as ſhe appeared to do outwardly in her ſpeech. I anſwered freely, that in my judgment, there was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning, but great diſſimulation, emulation and fear, leſt her Princely qualities ſhould over ſoon chace her from the Kingdom, as having already hindered her marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles* of *Auſtria*. It appeared likewiſe to me, by her offering unto her with great appearing earneſtneſs my Lord of *Leiceſter*, whom I knew at that time ſhe could not want.

Shortly after my Lord of *Murray* and *Bedford* met near *Berwick*, to treat concerning the marriage with *Leiceſter*, with ſlenderer offers, and leſs effectual dealing then was expected. But the ſaid Earl of *Leiceſter* had written ſuch diſcreet and wiſe Letters unto my Lord of *Murray* for his excuſes, that the Queen appeared to have ſo good liking to him, as the Queen of *England* began to ſuſpect that the ſaid marriage might take effect. Her apprehenſions of this, occaſioned the Lord *Darnly* his getting more readily licenſe to come to *Scotland*, in hope that he being a handſome luſty youth, ſhould rather prevail, being preſent, then *Leiceſter* who was abſent. Which licenſe was procured by the means of the Secretary *Cicil*, not that he was minded that any of the marriages ſhould take effect, but with ſuch ſhifts to hold the Queen unmarried ſo long as he could. For he perſwaded himſelf, that my Lord *Darnly* durſt not proceed in the marriage without conſent of the Queen of *England* firſt obtained to the ſaid marriage, his Land lying in *England*, and his Mother remaining there. So that he thought it lay in the Queen his Miſtreſs her own hand, to let that marriage go forward, or to ſtay the ſame at her pleaſure. And in caſe my Lord *Darnly* ſhould diſobey the Queen of *Englands* command, to return upon her call, he intended to cauſe for fault him whereby he ſhould loſe all his Lands, Rights, and Titles that he had in *England.*

The Queens Majeſty, as I have ſaid before. after her returning out of *France* to *Scotland*, behaved her ſelf ſo Princely, honourably, and diſcreetly, that her reputation ſpread it ſelf in all Countries. She was determined, and of her ſelf inclined to continue ſo unto the end of her life, deſiring to entertain none in her company, but ſuch as were of the beſt converſation, abhorring all vice and vicious perſons. In this her reſolution ſhe deſired me to aſſiſt her by affording her my good counſel, what way was moſt effectual to ingratiate her ſelf with her Subjects. And in caſe ſhe (being yet young) might forget her ſelf by any unſeemly geſture or miſ-behaviour, that I would warn her thereof, by admoniſhing her to forbear and timouſly reform the ſame. Which Commiſſion I did at firſt altogether refuſe to accept of, ſaying That her vertuous actions, her natural judgment, and the experience ſhe had learned in the Court of *France*, had inſtructed her ſo well, and qualified her ſo abundantly, to be an example to all her Subjects and Servants, that ſhe needed none to admoniſh her. But ſhe would not leave it ſo, but ſaid ſhe knew ſhe had committed divers errours, upon no ill meaning, only for want of the admonition of loving and concerned friends. Becauſe that the greateſt part of Courtiers commonly flatter Princes, to inſinuate for their favour, and will not tell them the truth, fearing thereby to diſoblige them. Therefore ſhe adjured and commanded me to accept that charge, which I ſaid was a very ruinous Commiſſion, begging her Majeſty to lay that burthen upon her Brother my Lord of *Murray*, and the Secretary *Lidingtoun*. She anſwered, ſhe would not take it in ſo good part from them, as from me. I ſaid, I was afraid that through proceſs of time, it would cauſe me to loſe her favour. She ſaid, it appeared I entertained an ill opinion of her conſtancy and diſcretion: which opinion ſhe doubted not but I would alter, after I had undertaken, and practiſed that friendly and familiar charge. In the mean time ſhe made me privy to all her moſt urgent affairs, but chiefly to her dealings with any foreign Nation. She ſhewed unto me all her Letters, thoſe which ſhe received from other Princes. She deſired me to write in her favour, to ſuch Princes as I had been acquainted with, and to ſuch forreign Councellors as I knew to be eminent Men. In which Letters, I did not omit to ſet out her vertues. I uſed to ſhew to her their returns, which ordinarily gave me an accompt of the moſt remarkable occurrences of thoſe Countries, to her Majeſties great contentment. For ſhe was of a quick ſpirit, curious to know and get intelligence of the ſtate of other Princes. She was ſomething ſad when ſolitary, and was glad of the company of ſuch as had travelled to other Kingdoms.

Now there came here in company with the Ambaſſadour of *Savoy*, one *David Rixio* of the County of *Piedmont*, who was a merry fellow, and a good Muſician. Her Majeſty had three Valets of her Chamber who ſung three parts, and wanted a Baſs to ſing the fourth part. Therefore they told her Majeſty of this Man, as one fit to make the fourth in Conſort.

Thus he was drawn in to ſing ſometimes with the reſt, and afterward when her *French* Secretary retired himſelf to *France*, this *David* obtained the ſaid office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, ſo he had not the prudence how to manage the ſame rightly. For frequently in preſence of the Nobility, he would be publickly ſpeaking to her, even when there was greateſt Conventions of the States. Which made him to be much envied and hated, eſpecially when he became ſo great, that he preſented all ſignatours to be ſubſcribed by her Majeſty. So that ſome of the Nobility would frown upon him, others would ſhoulder and ſhut him by, when they entered the Queens Chamber, and found him always ſpeaking with her. For theſe who had great Actions of Law, new infeſtments to be taken, or who deſired to prevail againſt their Enemies at Court, or in Law Suits before the Seſſion, addreſſed themſelves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in ſhort time he became very rich. Yet he wanted not his own fears, therefore he lamented his eſtate to me, asking one day my counſel how to behave himſelf. I told him that ſtrangers were commonly envied, when they medled too much in the affairs of other Countries. He ſaid he being Secretary to her Majeſty in the *French* Tongue, had occaſion thereby to be frequently in her Majeſties company, as her former Secretary uſed to do. I anſwered again that it was thought that the greateſt part of the affairs of the Countrey paſt through his hands, which gave offence to the Nobility. I adviſed him in their preſence to retire from the Queen, giving them place. And that he might deſire the Queen to permit him to take that way, I told him for an example, how I had been in ſo great favour with the Elector Palatine, that he cauſed me to ſit at his own Table, and that he uſed frequently to confer with me in preſence of his whole Court; whereat divers of them took great indignation againſt me: Which ſo ſoon as I perceived, I requeſted him to permit me to ſit from his own Table with the reſt of his Gentlemen, and no more to confer with me in their preſence, but to call me by a Page to his Chamber, when he had any ſervice to command me. Seeing otherwiſe he would prejudge himſelf and me, both by giving ground of diſcontent to his Subjects, in too much noticing a ſtranger, and ſo expoſe me to their fury. Which I obtained, and that way my Maſter was not hated, nor I any more envied. I adviſed him to take the like courſe, if he was reſolved to act as a wiſe Man. Which counſel he ſaid he was reſolved to follow, but afterward told me that the Queen would not ſuffer him, but would needs have him carry himſelf as formerly. I anſwered, that I was ſorry for the inconveniencies that might follow thereupon. And afterward finding the envy againſt *Rixio* ſtill to increaſe, and that by his ruine which I did foreſee to be inevitable, her Majeſty might Incur diſpleaſure, and her affairs be prejudged, ſeeing I clearly perceived that the extraordinary favour ſhe carried to that Man, did much alienate the hearts of her own Subjects from her. I remembred her Majeſties command lately laid upon me, when ſhe particularly injoined me, to forewarn her, of any circumſtance to be obſerved in her carriage, which I thought could tend to her prejudice. I had before this time taken ſome ſuch freedom, in deſiring her to deſiſt from ſome things which I knew were diſſatisfactory to her Subject, and upon my acquainting her Majeſty therewith, ſhe had been pleaſed to reform them. The reflection hereupon, incouraged me the more cheerfully, in hope of the like ſucceſs, to forewarn her Majeſty of the inconveniencies I did clearly foreſee would inevitably follow, if ſhe in time did not alter her carriage to *Rixio*. Therefore upon the firſt opportunity, I took occaſion to enter with her Majeſty upon this diſcourſe, in moſt humble manner repreſenting, what I did upon rational conſiderations conjecture would be the conſequences, of the too publick demonſtrations of favour, ſhe gave to *Rixio*, a ſtranger, and one ſuſpected by her Subjects to be a penſioner of the Pope. That though they were reſolved not to challenge her Majeſties Religion, though contrary to theirs, allowing her Liberty of Conſcience, yet it was not to be ſuppoſed, but the too much owning of *Rixio*, a known Minion of the Pope, would give ground of ſuſpicion, that ſome deſign to the prejudice of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, would be by him contrived. That to prevent this, her Subjects would find themſelves obliged, to uſe all their endeavours to ruine a Man, and a ſtranger, from whom they could expect no good office, as being a known Enemy to their Religion. For the Nobility would certainly take it as an high affront upon them, to ſee her ſo viſiby more countenance a ſtranger, then them her native Subjects. I told her her Majeſty very freely what advice I had given to *Rixio*. She anſwered me, that he medled no further then in her *French* writings, and affairs, as her other *French* Secretary had done formerly. And that whoever found fault therewith, ſhe would not be ſo far reſtrained, but that ſhe might diſpence her favours to ſuch as ſhe pleaſed. I remembred her Majeſty what diſpleaſure had been procured to her, by the raſh miſ-behaviour of a *French* Gentleman called *Chattellier*, who tranſported to miſcarry himſelf by her affability, had thereby highly injured her Majeſty. I told her Majeſty that a grave and comely behaviour toward ſtrangers, not admitting them to too much familiarity, would bring them to a more circumſpect and Reverend carriage. I told her, how neceſſary it was, that ſhe particularly noticed all her actings, ſeeing thoſe of her Subjects who were not of her Religion, were eaſily allarumed with any thing which could be therein miſrepreſented. That if their hearts were once loſt there would be great difficulty of regaining that place in their affections, which yet they found her due as their Sovereign Princeſs. She thanked me for my continual care, evidenced in this free advice, and ingaged to take ſuch order in reference thereto, as the caſe required.

I have already told, how that my Lord *Darnly* was adviſed to ask Licenſe to come unto *Scotland*. At his firſt coming he found the Queen at *Weems*, making her progreſs through *Fiffe*. Her Majeſty took very well with him, and ſaid, That he was the propereſt and beſt proportioned long Man that ever ſhe had ſeen; for he was of a high Stature, long and ſmall, even and ſtraight. He had been from his Youth well inſtructed in all honeſt and comely exerciſes. After he had haunted Court ſome time, he propoſed marriage to her Majeſty, which propoſal ſhe at firſt appeared to diſreliſh, as that ſame day ſhe her ſelf told me, and that ſhe had refuſed a Ring, which he then offered unto her. I took occaſion freely hereupon to ſpeak in his favours, and to convince her Majeſty, that no marriage was more her intereſt then this, ſeeing it would render her Title to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* unqueſtionable. I know not how he came to fall in acquaintance with *Rixio*, but I found he alſo was his great friend at the Queens hand, ſo that ſhe took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry him. This being made known to the Queen of *England*, ſhe ſent and charged him to return. She alſo ſent her Ambaſſadour Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to *Scotland*, to diſſwade the Queen from marrying him, and in caſe the Queen would not follow her advice, to perſwade the Lords, and ſo many as were of the Proteſtant Religion, to withſtand the ſaid marriage, till the ſaid Lord *Darnly* ſhould ſubſcribe a Bond to maintain the Reformed Religion, which he had ever profeſſed in *England*.

The Queen again perceiving the Queen of *Englands* earneſt oppoſition to all the marriages that offered unto her, reſolved to delay no longer. But my Lord Duke of *Chattellerault*, my Lords of *Argile*, *Rothes*, *Murray*, *Glencairr*, and divers others Lords, and Barons, withſtood the ſaid marriage. Who after they had made an Eſſay to take the Lord *Darnly* in the Queens company at the Raid of *Baith*, and as they alledged, to have ſent him to *England*. Failing in this their enterpriſe, they took them to the fields to her Majeſties great diſſatiſfaction, and heart-breaking. Her Majeſties Forces were ſooner ready then theirs, ſo that ſhe perſued them here and there, whereby they were ſo ſtraitned that they could never have the opportunity of drawing together. And at length, they were compelled to flee unto *England* for refuge to her, who by her Ambaſſadours had promiſed to hazard her Crown in their defence, in caſe they were driven to any ſtrait, becauſe of appearing againſt the ſaid marriage. Though this was expreſly denyed them, when coming to demand help. For when they ſent up my Lord of *Murray* to that Queen, the reſt abiding at *New-caſtle*, he could obtain nothing but diſdain and ſcorn, till at length he and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* his Companion in that meſſage, were perſwaded to come and confeſs unto the Queen upon their knees, and that in preſence of the Ambaſſadours of *France* and *Spain*, that her Majeſty had never moved them to that oppoſition and reſiſtance againſt their Queens marriage. For this ſhe had deſired to ſatiſfie the ſaid Ambaſſadours, who both alledged in their Maſters names, that ſhe had been the cauſe of the ſaid Rebellion, and that her only delight was to ſtir up diſſention among her Neighbours. Yet by this cunning, ſhe overcame them. For ſhe handled the matter ſo ſubtilly, and the other two ſo cowardly, in granting her deſire contrary to what was truth, being put in hopes relief, if they would ſo far comply with what was judged her intereſt for the time, that ſhe triumphed over the ſaid Ambaſſadours for their falſe allegiance. But unto my Lord of *Murray*, and his neighbour, ſhe ſaid, now you have told the truth, for neither did I, nor any in my Name ſtir you up againſt your Queen. For your abominable Treaſon, may ſerve for example to my own Subjects to rebel againſt me. Therefore get you out of my preſence, you are but unworthy Traytors. This was all the reward they procured at her hands, and had not ſome of the Proteſtants in her Kingdom, who favoured them upon accompt of their Religion, interpoſed what they could with her, they would not have been permitted, during their baniſhment, to have remained within her dominions. Although a little before, ſhe had promiſed to give them what aſſiſtance they demanded to the uttermoſt of her power, upon condition that they would pleaſe her ſo far, as to ſit down upon their knees in preſence of the ſaid Ambaſſadours, and make the foreſaid falſe confeſſion. And as for ſecret help, ſhe gave them none, only they obtained a ſmall contribution among ſome of their own Religion there, who were their friends, which was diſtributed among them at *New-caſtle*, where they remained comfortleſs, and in great trouble.

The Queen finding the ſhifts the Court of *England* made to delay her marriage with any Man propoſed, haſted forward her marriage with my Lord *Darnly*, which was ſolemnized in there Palace of *Haly-rood*-Houſe, within the Queens Chappel at the Maſs, wherein *Rixio* was no ſmall inſtrument. *Scotland* being by this time almoſt wholly of the Reformed Religion, took a diſlike of the King, becauſe of this, he having formerly profeſſed the Reformed Religion in *England*. Hence were occaſioned rumours, that there was ſome deſign on foot, for planting again in *Scotland* the Roman Catholick Religion, there being ground of ſuſpicion, that *Rixio* was a Penſioner of the Popes. And at this ſame time, the Pope ſent Eight Thouſand Crowns in Gold to be delivered to our Queen, which augmented theſe ſuſpicions. But the Ship wherein the ſaid Gold was, did Ship-wrack upon the Coaſt of *England*, within the Earl of *Northumberland's* bounds, who alledged the whole to appertain to him by juſt Law, which he cauſed his Advocate to read unto me (when I was directed to him for the demanding reſtitution of the ſaid Sum) in the old *Norman* Language. Which neither he nor I underſtand well, it was ſo corrupt. But all my intreaties were ineffectual, he altogether refuſing to give any part thereof to the Queen, albeit he was himſelf a Catholick, and otherwiſe profeſſed ſecretly to be her friend.

After that the Queens Majeſty had married my Lord *Darnly*, ſhe did him great honour her ſelf, and deſired every one who expected her favour, to do the like, and to wait upon him. So that for a little time, he was well accompanied; and ſuch as ſought favour by him, ſped beſt in their Suits. But becauſe he had married without advice of the Queen of *England*, my Lady *Lennox* his Mother was committed to the Tower of *London*, where ſhe was kept for a long time.

All this time I attended ſtill upon the Queen, but with leſs familiarity then formerly. And ſeeing my ſervice for the time no more needful, humbly begged liberty of the Queen to return to *France*, and other places, where I had ſpent the greateſt part of my life. But this her Majeſty abſolutely refuſed to grant, expreſſing ſome deſire to know what could move me to deſert her ſervice. I ſaid the time was full of ſuſpicions, and that I was confident I could do her more ſervice abroad then at home as matters had fallen out. She anſwered, that ſhe knew I could do her more ſervice at home, then any Servant ſhe had if I pleaſed, but that I had left off uſing my wonted freedom with her in giving her my opinion of her proceedings. I told her Majeſty I was ſomewhat apprehenſive that my opinions would be unpleaſant to her, but ſhe affirmed the contrary, telling me that I had Enemies, who uſed their endeavours to imprint a bad Character of me in the King, as if I had been a favourer of the Earl of *Murray*, which ſhe had put out of the King's head, as being better acquainted with my nature and conditions: Saying, that ſhe knew well that I had a liking to the Earl of *Murray*, but not to his actings of taking up Arms againſt her. That ſhe was aſſured that I loved her ten times better then him. She ſaid moreover, that if any did endeavour to miſrepreſent her as much to me, that ſhe wiſht I ſhould give them no more credit againſt her, then ſhe had done, or ſhould do againſt me. She adviſed me to wait upon the King, who was but young, and give him my beſt counſel, as I had formerly done to her, which might help him to ſhun many inconveniencies. And ſhe gave me her hand, that ſhe would take all in good part whatever I did ſpeak, as proceeding from a loving and faithful Servant. Deſiring me alſo to befriend *Rixio*, who was hated without a cauſe. The King alſo told me, who they were who had ſpoken to him in my prejudice. And ſaid they were known to be ſuch common lyars, as their tongue was no ſlander. By theſe and ſuch like means, the Queens Majeſty obliged me more and more to be careful, to be ſerviceable to her. And I judged my ſelf ingaged as the greateſt demonſtration I could give of my being faithful to her, to give her my opinion, what uſe ſhe might make for her own advantage, of the harſh uſage the Earl of *Murray* and his aſſociates had received in *England.* How uncourteouſly that Queen had uſed them before the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours, ſhe having broken all her fair promiſes unto them.

Firſt, I told her Majeſty that ever ſince her return to her own Countrey, ſhe had been endeavouring to get her Nobility and whole Subjects, intirely affected to take part with her in all actions whatſoever, and chiefly againſt *England* in caſe ſhe might have occaſion of imploying them. Though ſhe could never hitherto obtain her deſire, becauſe of the ſecret bond and promiſe was made among them, when the *Engliſh* Army was at the Siege of *Lieth,* helping to put the *Frenchmen* out of *Scotland.*

Now, ſaid I, Madam the occaſion is offered, whereby your Majeſty may bring your deſired intention to paſs, if you could find in your heart either to pardon the Earl of *Murray*, and his aſſociates, or at leaſt to prolong the Parliament, wherein they are to be forſaulted untill your Majeſty may duly adviſe, and ſee whether it will be more your intereſt to forfault them, or give them ground of hope of obtaining your pardon, according to their carriage for the future. To this ſhe anſwered, now when they could do no better, they ſought her; but when ſhe ſought their concurrence, ſuch as Subjects owe to their native Prince, they would not hear her, no more would ſhe now notice their Suits. I ſaid, whenſoever they were to make their Suits it ſhould not be by me, but this I propoſe of my ſelf to your Majeſty, who can chooſe the beſt, and leave the worſt in all accidents. Seeing it is no little matter to gain the whole hearts of all your Subjects, and alſo of a good number in *England*, who favour them and their Religion, who would admire ſuch Princely vertues. When they ſhould ſee ſo pregnant a proof of your Majeſties being able to Maſter your own paſſions and affections, all will then conclude, that you were moſt worthy to reign over Kingdoms, finding you ſo ready to forgive, and ſo loath to uſe vengeance, eſpecially againſt Subjects already vanquiſhed, and not worthy of your wrath. If your Majeſty conſider ſeriouſly, clemency at ſuch a time will be found moſt convenient, and that part of Juſtice called Equity, more profitable then rigour. For extremity frequently brings on deſperate enterpriſes. At this her Majeſty entred into choller, ſaying, I defie them, what can they do or what dare they do? Madam, ſays I, with your Majeſties pardon, my propoſition is in obedience to your own Commandment; to ſhew you my opinion at all times for the weal of your affairs. Then ſhe ſaid ſhe thanked me, granting that it was a good advice, and neceſſary to be done, if ſhe could in ſo far command her ſelf. But that yet ſhe could not find in her heart to have to do with any of them upon divers conſiderations, intreating me nevertheleſs to continue giving her my advice at all occaſions. For albeit ſhe did not follow this, ſhe might perchance do better at another time. I anſwered, that it was only the conſideration of her intereſt, that made me appear ſo concerned. Many Noblemen being baniſhed, and ſo near as *Newcaſtle*, having many other Noblemen at home, of their kindred and friends, ſo malecontent, as I knew them to be for the time, made me fear ſome attempt towards an alteration. For I told her, I had heard dark ſpeeches, that we ſhould hear news e're the Parliament was ended. Her Majeſty anſwered, that ſhe likewiſe wanted not advertiſements of the like rumours, but that our Countrey-men were talkative. I uſed the ſame freedom with *Rixio*, for then he and I were under great friendſhip. But he evidenced a diſdain at all danger, and deſpiſed counſel, ſo that I was compelled to ſay, I feared over late Repentance.

You have heard that Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was one of the two *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours who were ſent hither to ſtay the marriage, and to make many promiſes in his Miſtreſſes Name, to ſo many as would reſiſt the ſame, which promiſes were afterward denied by the Queen of *England*, and by Mr. *Randolph*. But Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* ſtood neither in awe of Queen or Council, to declare the verity, that he had made ſuch promiſes to them in her Name, whereof the Councellors and craftieſt Courtries thought ſtrange, and were reſolving to puniſh him for avowing the ſame promiſe to be made in his Miſtreſſes Name, had not he wiſely and circumſpectly obtained an Act of Council for his Warrant, which he offered to produce. And the ſaid Sir *Nicholas* was ſo angry that he had been made an inſtrument to deceive the *Scots* baniſhed Lords, that he adviſed them to ſue humbly for pardon at their own Queens hand, and to ingage never again to offend her for ſatisfaction of any Prince alive. And becauſe as they were then ſtated they had no intereſt, he penned a perſwaſive Letter, and ſent unto her Majeſty as followeth.

" YOur Majeſty hath in *England* many friends of all degrees, who
" favour your Title, but for divers reſpects. Some for very
" Conſcience ſake, being perſwaded, that in Law your Right is beſt;
" ſome for the good opinion they have conceived, by the honourable
" report they have heard of your vertues and liberality, the conſidera-
" tion whereof ingageth them to eſteem your Majeſty moſt worthy to
" Govern; ſome for factions, who favour your Religion; ſome for the
" ill will they bear to your competitour, ſeeing their own danger if
" Lady *Katharine* ſhould come in that place.

" Of theſe, ſome are Papiſts, ſome Proteſtants, and yet however they
" differ among themſelves, in Religion or other particulars, they are
" both of one mind for the advancement of your Title. Your Ma-
" jeſty hath alſo divers Enemies for various reſpects, not unlike to the
" other, whoſe ſtudy hath always been, and will be, unleſs they be
" made friends, to hinder any thing that may tend to your advantage.
" In one point all concur, both Friends and Enemies, yea the whole
" People, that they are moſt deſirous to have the ſucceſſion of the
" Crown declared and aſſured, that they may be at a certainty, only the
" Queen her ſelf is of a contrary opinion, and would be glad the matter
" ſhould always be in ſuſpence.

" Your un-friends have done what they could, to take the ad-
" vantage of the time, to your prejudice: And for that end, preſſed
" the holding of the Parliament, which was before continued till *Octo-*
" *ber* laſt. Knowing aſſuredly, that if the Parliament held, the Suc-
" ceſſion of the Crown would be called in queſtion. And they thought
" the time ſerved well for their purpoſe, when there was diviſion and

“ trouble in your own Realm, and no good underſtanding betwixt
“ you and the Queen of *England.* And her Subjects your friends, for
“ eſchewing that inconvenience and winning of time to give your
“ Majeſty place to work, and remove all impediments, ſo far as wiſdom
“ may have found the means to drive it off till the next ſpring. Now
“ their advice is, that in the mean time your Majeſty indeavour by
“ wiſdom to aſſure your ſelf of the whole Votes, or at leaſt of the beſt
“ and moſt conſiderable of the Parliament, when ever the matter ſhall
“ be brought in queſtion. Which may be done, by retaining the hearts
“ of thoſe you have gained already, recovering of thoſe who are brangled,
“ winning of the neutrals, and ſo many of your adverſaries as
“ may be gained; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that all can be won who
“ are already, ſo far addicted to the contrary Faction, but when the cauſe
“ of their averſion is removed the effect will ceaſe.

“ Generally your Majeſty will do well to forbear any act that will
“ offend the whole people, and uſe ſuch means as will render you moſt
“ acceptable to them. Strangers are univerſally ſuſpected to the whole
“ people, againſt which your Majeſty hath in your marriage wiſely
“ provided, by abſtaining to match with a forreign Prince. So do they
“ adviſe your Majeſty to abſtain from any League or Confederacy, with
“ any forreign Prince that may offend *England,* till you have firſt eſſayed
“ what you can purchaſe by the benevolence of the born Subjects
“ thereof. Not that they would deſire your Majeſty to forfeit
“ your friendſhip with *France,* and *Spain,* but rather that you ſhould
“ wiſely entertain them both to remain at your devotion, in caſe afterward
“ you have need of their favour. Nevertheleſs it is their wiſh
“ that the ſame may rather remain in generalterms as heretofore, then
“ that you proceed to any ſpecial act which may offend *England,*
“ which you cannot with honour bring back again when you would.
“ As many of oour acverſaries as are addicted to the contrary Faction
“ for hatred of your Religion, may be gained when they ſee your Majeſty
“ continue in the temperance and moderation you have hitherto
“ uſed, within your own Realm in matters of Religion, without innovation
“ or alteration. As many as by miſreports have been carried
“ to the contrary Faction, may by true report be brought back again,
“ when they ſhall hear of your clemency uſed towards your own Subjects,
“ which vertue in Princes, of all others, moſt allures the hearts of
“ people to favour, even their common Enemies. As many as can
“ deal warily and diſcreetly with your friends of both the Religions,
“ and are only addicted for Conſcience ſake to my Lady *Katharine,*
“ being perſwaded of the preference of your Title in Law, may be gained
“ to your Majeſty by contrary perſwaſions, and by adducing of
“ ſuch reaſons and arguments, as may be alledged for proof of your
“ good cauſe, whereof there are abundance to be had. Some your
“ Majeſty will find in *England,* who will hazard as far as they dare,
“ to ſerve your turn in this behalf. But becauſe it is ſo dangerous to
“ Men to deal in, and may endanger Lives and Lands, if they be ſeen
“ earneſt medlers, travelling in that point ſo as would be neceſſary, it
“ will require ſuch inſtruments of your own when time comes, who
“ may boldly ſpeak without danger, and with whom the Subjects of
“ *England* dare freely communicate their minds, and enter into con-

" ference. If any be afraid of your Majeſty, thinking that you have " an ill opinion of them, the aſſurance by a truſty Miniſter of your " good will, whom they may credit, will quickly put them out of " doubt and make them favourable enough. They who are conſtant-" ly yours, are eaſily retained at your devotion: Thoſe who hereto-" fore have born any favour, and by the late occurrences are any way " brangled, will be brought home again, when they ſhall ſee your " Majeſty, now when it is fallen in your hands to uſe rigour or mer-" cy, as you pleaſe, rather incline to the moſt plauſible part, in ſhew-" ing your magnanimity, when you have brought your Subjects to " ſubmiſſion and gentleneſs, as the good Paſtour to reduce his Sheep " that were gone aſtray home again to the fold. Thoſe who are yet " neutrals, by the ſame means, and true information of your intereſt " by Law, may all be won to your ſide. This done, when the mat-" ter comes in queſtion, your friends will earneſtly preſs your intereſt " at this Parliament, and you will without controverſie bear it a-" way.

" This device, in ſo far as concerns your reconciliation with your " Subjects, is not a fetch for their favour, but is thought expedient for " your ſervice by many who have no favour for them, and are dif-" ferent from them in Religion. For it will bring the Queen of *Eng-* " *land* greatly to favour you, when ſhe ſhall ſee ſuch an Union in your " own Kingdom, of the Head and whole Members together. She will " not know how to diſturb your Majeſties eſtate, eſpecially when the " Reconciliation takes effect in the hearts of the Subjects in *England*, " who will think themſelves in an happy condition, if they ſhould " come under the Government of ſo benign a Princeſs who can ſo rea-" dily forgive great offences. For albeit it muſt be acknowledged that " my Lord of *Murray*, hath by his inconſiderate carriage given your " Majeſty great ground of offence, yet it is hard to perſwade the Pro-" teſtants, that your quarrel againſt him hath any other foundation, " then that he differs from you in Religion. Upon this ground, they " find themſelves engaged to eſpouſe his quarrel. If then they per-" ceived your Majeſty graciouſly inclined to take him again unto fa-" vour, and forgive what is by-paſt, the Proteſtants in *England* would " doubtleſs declare themſelves more affectionate to your intreſt, when " they ſhall ſee more of their own Religion ſo clemently handled. " And that your Majeſty may have experience, that it is your advance-" ment your friends would by this means procure, and not the advan-" tage of thoſe with whom your Majeſty is offended, a middle way " may be followed, as is frequently uſed in ſuch like caſes, where not " only the multitude is ſpared, but the chief authors are preſerved. It " may pleaſe your Majeſty to cauſe a Letter to be pen'd in good terms " and form, and publiſh the ſame by Proclamation, declaring the juſt " cauſe of your anger againſt all of them; and that yet for declaring " your own good nature above their deſervings, you are content to re-" mit the whole, except ſuch principles as you pleaſe to reſerve and ex-" cept by name from the general Pardon. And that with whom you " will not take ſuch ſevere order as you might in Law, till you have " further tryal and experience of their Penitence. The perſons ſo to " be nominated and excepted ſhall depart out of *England*, to what Coun-

“ trey pleaſeth your Majeſty, there to remain during your pleaſure.
“ In this mean time, if your Majeſty find that this benign uſage of
“ yours, ſhall produce ſuch fruit as is here ſpoken, your Majeſty may
“ further extend your favour, as you find convenient and profitable for
“ your ſelf. For your Majeſty hath ſtill the crimes lying above their
“ heads. In the mean time all who favour them in *England*, will
“ plead in their cauſe with your Majeſty, ſo far as their power extends
“ as if they were Agents for your Majeſty. They will in no ways, if
“ they can eſchew it, be again in the Queen of *Englands* debt, neither
“ by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet
“ for any ſupport in the time of their baniſhment. But rather it may
“ pleaſe your Majeſty, that their charges be allowed them of their own
“ Lands. By following this advice, which in no ways can be prejudi-
“ cial to your Majeſty, but will much conduce for your intereſt, you
“ may recover the greateſt part of the Biſhops of *England*; many of
“ the greateſt Nobility and Gentlemen, who are yet Neutral.

Their Names were declared to her Majeſty in Cypher, by whoſe means he alledged her Majeſty ſhould obtain ſo great rn intereſt in *England*, that albeit that Queen would appear againſt her, ſhe needed not to care. For in ſending but one thouſand Men of her own, out of four parts of *England*, a ſufficient number ſhould join with them, by whoſe forces, without any ſtrangers, her Majeſty ſhould obtain the thing which is wrongfully refuſed and retained.

When her Majeſty had ſeriouſly pondered this diſcourſe, it had great influence upon her, to move her to follow the deſire thereof, as well for the good opinion ſhe had of him who ſent it, as being of her own nature more inclined to mercy then rigour; ſhe being alſo wiſe, and being convinced that it tended to the advancement of her affairs in *England*. She was therefore fully reſolved to have followed the advice thereof, and to prolong the Parliament which had been called to forfault the Lords who had fled. *Rixio* appeared alſo to have been gained for counſelling her hereto. My Lord *Murray* had ſued to him very earneſtly, and more humbly then could have been believed, with the preſent of a fair Diamond incloſed within a Letter, full of repentance and fair promiſes, from that time forth to be his Friend and Protector. Which the ſaid *Rixio* granted to do with the better will, that he perceived the King to bear him little good will, and to frown upon him.

Following this advice and advertiſement given by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Queens Majeſty ſent my Brother, Sir *Robert Melvil*, to remain her Ambaſſadour in Ordinary at the Court of *England*, to be ready at all occaſions in caſe any thing were treated at the Parliament concerning the Succeſſion, and to purſue the Deſign laid down by Sir *Nicholas*, and her other friends in *England*.

In this mean time, there was a *French* Gentleman ſent home here; called Mounſieur *d' Villamonte*, with a Commiſſion to treat with the Queen, that in no wayes ſhe ſhould ſhew any favour to the proteſtant baniſhed Lords. Becauſe that all Catholick Princes were bandied to root them out of all *Europe*. Which was a device of the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain*, lately returned from the Councel of *Trent*. He had cauſed the King of *France*, to write earneſtly to that effect. Which unhappy Meſſage, occaſioned divers tragical accidents. For the Queen was loath to offend her friends in *France* of the houſe of *Guiſe*, albeit ſhe would have done little at that time by her own pleaſure to ſatisfie the King of *France* who was but young and only guided by his Mother whom ſhe had no good cauſe to like well of. But *Rixio* was thought alſo not to think fit to offend ſo many Catholick Princes confederated, and eſpecially the Pope with whom he had ſecret intelligence. Hereby the Queen was again induced to hold the Parliament to forfault the baniſhed Lords, againſt her own intention and her former deliberation. Now there were a number of Lords at home, friends to the Lords who were baniſhed, as the Earl of *Mortoun*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Lindſay*, and divers other Gentlemen who favoured them only for their Religion, ſome of them were diſcontent, that their friends ſhould be forfaulted, others had ſpecial reaſons inducing them to fear the Sitting of that Parliament. Eſpecially the Earl of *Mortoun*, and his dependers feared a revocation that was alledged to be made at the ſaid Parliament, to bring back again to the Crown divers great diſpoſitions given out during the Queens minority, and ſome benefices which had been taken by Noblemen at their own hands during the Civil-Wars under pretext of Religion. Theſe and ſuch conſiderations, moved them to conſult together how to get the Parliament ſtayed, and to make a change at Court. The Earl of *Mortoun* had a crafty head, and had a Couſin called *George Douglaſs*; the natural Son to the Earl of *Angus*, who was Father to Dame *Margaret Douglaſs* Counteſs of *Lennox*, the King's Mother. The ſaid *George* was continually about the King, and by his Mother, and Brothers means, put in his head ſuch ſuſpicions againſt *Rixio*, that the King was prevailed with to give his conſent to his ſlaughter. This the Lords of *Mortoun*, *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, and others had deviſed, to become that way Maſters of the Court and ſo to ſtop the Parliament.

The King was yet very young, and not well acquainted with the nature of this Nation. It was ſuppoſed alſo, that the Earl of *Lennox* knew of the ſaid deſign. For he had his Chamber within the Palace, and ſo had the Earl of *Athol*, *Bothwel* and *Huntly*, who eſcaped, by leaping over a Window toward the little Garden where the Lyons were lodged. This vile act was done upon a *Saturday* at ſix a-Clock at night, when the Queen was at Supper in her Cloſet. A number of Armed Men entered within the Court, before the cloſing of the Gates, and took the Keys from the Porter. One part of them, went up through the Kings Chamber, conducted by the Lord *Ruthven* and *George Douglaſs*; the reſt remained without, with drawn Swords in their hands, crying, *A Douglaſs*, *A Douglaſs*. The King was before gone up to the Queen, and was leaning upon her Chair, when the Lord *Ruthven* entered with his Helmet upon his Head, and *George Douglaſs*, and divers others with them, ſo rudely and irreverently, that the Table, Candles, Meat and Diſhes were overthrown. *Rixio* took the Queen about the waſte, crying for mercy, but *George Douglaſs* plucked out the Kings Dagger and ſtroke *Rixio* firſt with it, leaving it ſticking in him. He making great ſhrieks and cryes, was rudely ſnatcht from the Queen, who could not prevail either with threats or intreaties, to ſave him. But he was forcibly drawn forth of the Cloſet and ſlain in the outer Hall, and her Majeſty kept as a Captive. That ſame night the Earl of *Athol*, the Laird of *Tullibardine*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and Sir *James Balfour* were permitted to retire themſelves out of the Palace, and were in great fear of their lives. The next morning being *Sunday*, I was let forth at the Gate, and paſſing through the outer Cloſe, the Queen being looking forth at a Window, cryed unto me to help her. I drew near, and aſſured her of all the help that lay in my power. She deſired me with all haſte to go to the Provoſt of *Edinbrugh*, and deſire him to convene the Town to relieve her out of theſe Traytors hands. But run faſt, ſays ſhe, for they will ſtay you. As this word was ſpoken, one Mr. *Wisbet*, Maſter of the Houſhold to the Earl of *Lennox*, was ſent with a Company to ſtay me. To whom I gave good words, ſaying, that I was only going to Sermon at St. *Giles's* Church. But I went in haſte to the Provoſt, and told him my Commiſſion from the Queen. He anſwered, That he had another commandment from the King, but that he ſhould draw the people to the *Tolbooth*, and ſee what they would do, though he expected no help from their hands, becauſe the moſt part of them were ſo diſcontent with the preſent Government, that all deſired a change. Yet he convened them, though in vain. Which backwardneſs of theirs, I did intimate to her Majeſty, by one of her Ladys, whom ſhe ſent again unto me, to tell me that ſhe ſuppoſed my Lord of *Murray* and his aſſociates, who were yet baniſhed, remaining at *Newcaſtle*, would be ſent for by thoſe who were about her. Willing me at his coming, to perſwade him not to join with thoſe who had ſo highly affronted her, but to hold himſelf free, and be her friend in this ſtrait, which doing ſhould be his great advantage and purchaſe her love and favour for ever. Which commiſſion I did not fail to execute at his coming upon *Monday*, but he was more moved at his meeting with her Majeſty, who imbraced and kiſſed him, alledging that if he had been at home he would not have ſuffered her to have been ſo uncourteouſly handled. Which ſo much moved him, that the Tears run from his eyes. He knew ſufficiently well that it was not for his cauſe, but for their own particular ends, that the greateſt part who had made that enterpriſe had therein ingaged, which made him the leſs concerned in them. Yet he and his Company reſolved to keep the day, againſt which they were ſummoned to the Parliament.

In the mean time, the King repented himſelf of his acceſſion to that affair, whereupon her Majeſty took occaſion to perſwade him to abandon thoſe Lords, who had committed ſo odious a crime, as to hazard her life, together with his Child which was in her Belly. That neverthele ſhe was reſolved to forgive them, and give them what ſecurity thereupon they would demand. The Lords ſeeing the King drawn from them, and my Lord of *Murray* not ſo frank for them as they expected, were neceſſitated to do the next beſt, and conſented that a pacification ſhould be penned, which was divers times written over, to put in and out certain heads and clauſes, to drive time until the writing might appear plauſible. Her Majeſty cauſed the King to adviſe them, to diſcharge the Guard that kept her, that ſo the ſecurity might be ſubſcribed, ſhe being at liberty. Seeing otherwiſe it would not avail them in Law, if there were the leaſt appearance of reſtraint upon her, during the time thereof. So upon *Tueſday* they went all to their reſt, but the Queen, King, *Traquair*, and *Arthur Areskin* Maſter of the Horſe for the time, went out of *Halirood*-Houſe at midnight toward the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and left word with one of her Ladies to me, that I ſhould be earneſt to keep the Earl of *Murray* from joining with the other Lords. Who the next morning found themſelves greatly diſappointed being left without any appearance of a pacification. In the mean time, I uſed my endeavours very effectually to keep my Lord *Murray* from joining with the late offenders. I ingaged to him, that in ſo doing, I ſhould procure a pardon to him, and all his followers. They on this manner being deſtitute of all aſſiſters, were compelled to flee unto *England* to *Newcaſtle*, where in a manner they might find the other Lords neſts yet warm.

A few days before, my Lord *Duke*, my Lords of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* had obtained their pardons. For they were divided during their baniſhment, and her Majeſty found it not her intereſt to have ſo many Lords againſt her. She had alſo now again indeavoured to draw the Earl of *Murray* from the Earl of *Mortoun*, and his accomplices, becauſe he had for the time a great friendſhip and many dependers, that ſhe might be the more eaſily revenged upon that moſt deteſtable deed of murthering her Servant in her preſence. For ſhe being big with Child, it appeared to be done to deſtroy both her and her Child. For they might have killed the ſaid *Rixio* in any other part, at any time they pleaſed. My Lord *Murray* and his dependants, deſired me to carry their humble thanks unto her Majeſty, and to ſignifie unto her, how willingly they acquieſced to her Majeſties deſire, and how they had diſcharged themſelves to ſuch as had committed that vile act. And that they promiſed her Majeſty never any more to have to do with them, or intercede for them.

I rencountred her Majeſty coming from *Dumbar* to *Hadingtoun*, and was very favourably received with great thanks for my care of her honour and welfare. That night in *Hadingtoun* ſhe ſubſcribed divers remiſſions for my Lord *Murray* and his dependers, lamenting unto me the King's folly, ungratitude, and misbehaviour. I excuſed the ſame the beſt I could, imputing it to his youth, which occaſioned him to be eaſily led away by pernicious Councel, laying the blame upon *George Duglas* and other bad Councellors, praying her Majeſty for many neceſſary conſiderations, to remove out of her mind any prejudice againſt him, ſeeing that ſhe had choſen him her ſelf againſt the opinion of many of her Subjects. But I could perceive nothing from that day forth, but great grudges that ſhe entertained in her heart. That night in *Hadingtoun*, the King inquired of me, if the Lord of *Murray* had written to him. I anſwered, That his Letter to the Queen was written in haſte, and that he eſteemed the Queen and him but one. He ſaid, he might have alſo written to me. Then he enquired what was become of *Mortoun*, *Ruthven* and the reſt of that Company. I told him, I believed they were fled, but I knew not whither. As they have Brewed, ſays he, ſo let them drink. It appeared to me that he was troubled he had deſerted them, finding the Queens favour but cold. The next day they came to *Edinbrugh*, and lodged within the Caſtle where ſome were apprehended and executed, who had been in the Court of the Palace, and had kept the Gates that night wherein *Rixio* was ſlain.

Her Majeſty was now far gone with Child, and went to *Sterling*, intending to ly in there. Thither the King followed her, and from that to *Allway*. At length ſhe came back to the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*. It was thought that ſhe fled from the King's company. I travelled earneſtly to help matters betwixt them, and was therein ſo importunate, that I was thought troubleſome. So that her Majeſty deſired my Lord of *Murray* to reprove me, and charge me not to be any more familiar with the King: Who went up and down all alone, ſeeing few durſt bear him company. He was miſliked by the Queen, and by all ſuch as ſecretly favoured the late baniſhed Lords: So that it was a great pity to ſee that good young Prince caſt off, who failed rather for want of good Counſel and Experience, then from any bad inclinations. It appeared to be fatal to him, to like better of flatterers and ill Company then plain ſpeakers and good Men : Which hath been the wrack of many Princes, who by frequenting good Company would have proved gallant Men.

About this time the Queen of *England* was taken with a great Fever, that none believed ſhe could live : All that Kingdom was thereby in great perplexity. But a ſtrange thing is to be marked, that two contrary Factions there, had both determined, unknown to other, to ſend for our Queen, and ſet the Crown of *England* upon her head. My Brother Sir *Robert Melvil* was then Ambaſſadour there reſident, and I ſerved in place of Secretary here at home, becauſe Secretary *Lidingtoun* was abſent under ſome ſuſpicion. He ſent home continual advertiſements how to proceed, and I again returned the anſwers at her Majeſties direction.

Now began the Earl of *Rothvel* to be in great favour, to the great diſſatisfaction of many. He and the Earl of *Huntly*, and the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, envied the favour that the Queen ſhewed unto the Earl of *Murray*; for they were upon contrary courſes. The Queen on the other hand, knew how generally he was well liked of both in *England* and *Scotland*, and that ſhe would be the better liked of in both Kingdoms that ſhe ſhewed favour to him. And as ſhe reſolved to follow the former advice and information ſent her by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, ſo ſhe forgat not the late help he had made her at his home-coming Theſe two Earl with the foreſaid Biſhop, took occaſion when the time of her Majeſties delivery drew near, to perſwade her to impriſon my Lord of *Murray*; to remain no longer then ſhe ſhould be delivered, alledging that they were aſſuredly advertiſed, that he and his dependers were reſolved to bring in the baniſhed Lords, even at the very time of her Child-bearing: For they thought, if once he were warded, they ſhould find devices enough to cauſe him be kept, and diſgraced, eſpecially when he ſhould be abſent, and not have opportunity of anſwering and reſiſting their Calumnies. Whereof her Majeſty gave me an accompt, deſiring me to mind her of their ſecret deſigns againſt *Murray*, without any juſt cauſe, flowing only from their own hatred who had deviſed his ruine.

The Earl of *Mortoun* was now in a hard condition, though many of the Barons of *Lauthran* were his friends, they could be little ſtedable to him. Among the reſt the Laird of *Elphingſtoun*, my Brother-in-law, whoſe Mother was a *Duglas* of the Houſe of *Whittengem.* Upon accompt of this friendſhip, the Earl of *Mortoun* cauſed to write unto my Siſter the Lady *Elphinſtoun*, deſiring her to perſwade me to write in his favours to the *Elector Palatine*, and other Princes of my acquaintance in *Germany*, to ſuffer him to live in their Country. For my Brother, by her Majeſties direction, preſſed the Queen of *England* to put them forth of her Kingdoms. And they durſt not go to *France*, where the Queen had ſo many friends. This I did ſhew unto her Majeſty that ſhe might be the more confirmed how groundleſs that report was, made by the aforeſaid Lords againſt *Murray*. Wherewith ſhe appeared well ſatisfied, reſolving to continue her kindneſs for my Lord *Murray*, but that withal ſhe charged me not to write in favours of *Mortoun*.

In the mean time, Mr. *Henry Killegrew* was ſent hither Ambaſſadour from the Queen of *England*, who was in great ſuſpicion of her eſtate, finding ſo many of her Subjects favourers of our Queen. The ſaid Ambaſſadour complained againſt one Mr. *Ruxbie*, who was harboured in *Scotland*, being a Rebel and a Papiſt: Declaring how that the Queen his Miſtreſs had commanded *Mortoun* and his Complices forth of her Country: Which was done by open proclamation, to pleaſe the Queen and her Ambaſſadour, who cryed out continually for her ſuffering them to abide ſo long in *England*: Yet as we afterward underſtood, they were ſecretly over-lookt, upon condition that they would keep themſelves quiet. Mr. *Killegrew* alledged alſo that the Queens Majeſty had been practiſing with *Oneel* in *Ireland*, who had his Ambaſſadour preſently in *Edinbrugh*, in company of the Earl of *Arguile.* And Thirdly he complained of ſome diſorders upon the Borders, made by *Scottiſhmen.* But the principal pretext of his Commiſſion, was to comfort the Queen over her late troubles, to congratulate her freedom, and good ſucceſs over her wicked and rebellious Subjects.

It may appear ſufficiently by that Queens former proceedings, that all the Siſterly familiarity was ceaſed, and in place thereof nothing but jealouſies, ſuſpicions and hatred. And yet they kept an outward correſpondence, for keeping up Neighbourhood and Intelligence. The *Scots* Ambaſſadour for the time in *England*, had ſo good hap that his credit was great, for he was eſteemed ſure and ſecret. Which cauſed a great number of the Nobility, Proteſtants and Papiſts to Communicate their inward minds, and ſecreteſt intentions unto him. Mr. *Randolph* had not the like credit in *Scotland*, but only with ſome of the ſimpleſt ſort of the Miniſters. For this *Ruxbie* was ſent in hither to appear to be a zealous favourer of her Majeſties Right and Title to the Crown of *England.* He was to endeavour to ſpeak with the Queen, and to take an occaſion of informing her Majeſty of the great friendſhip divers of the Catholicks had for her, who durſt not deal with the *Scots* Ambaſſadour being a Proteſtant; but that he would deal himſelf betwixt her Majeſty, and them. All this was to eſſay what he could draw out of her Majeſty to give advertiſement thereof to Secretary *Cicil.* He addreſſed himſelf unto the Queens Majeſty by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who was a Catholick. The ſaid Biſhop deſireing her Majeſty to be ſecret. What he learned for the time I cannot tell, but he did write ſundry intelligences unto the Secretary *Cicil*, which did prejudice. But this fine contrivance was not ſo ſecretly kept, but my Brother Sir *Robert* had knowledge thereof, and alſo of a Letter that the Secretary *Cicil* wrote again unto *Scotland*, to the ſaid Mr. *Ruxbie* promiſing to ſee him rewarded, and deſiring him to continue in his diligence. Of all which my Brother by his good intelligence was ſo well advertiſed, that in due time he gave her Majeſty and me information thereof. He gave his advice, how to carry for the future in that affair. So that when Mr. *Killegrew* made his complaint upon the receit of Mr. *Ruxbie*, her Majeſty incontinently cauſed him to be apprehended, and all his Cyphers and Writings, among the which was found the Letter written by Secretary *Cicil* above-mentioned. *Ruxbie* finding himſelf diſcovered, fell immediately upon his knees, granting himſelf worthy of a thouſand deaths, humbly craving pardon. Her Majeſty cauſed him to be ſo ſecretly and ſtraitly kept, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour could get no intelligence for what cauſe he was apprehended, until that the Queen did ſhew him her ſelf, that upon his complaint to ſatisfie the Queen her good Siſter, ſhe had cauſed to apprehend the ſaid *Ruxbie*, who ſhould be delivered ſo ſoon after his return as it ſhould pleaſe her Siſter to ſend for him.

But as this Mr. *Ruxbie*, was ſecured, ſo was the complaint made againſt him kept ſecret. For her Majeſty was adviſed, to appear altogether ignorant of any of his practiſes againſt her deviſed by Secretary *Cicil*, it not being thought her intereſt to put that ſhame upon one who profeſſed ſo much to be her friend. Nor was it time to caſt off intelligence, ſo long as it was found profitable to entertain it, as it would have indeed proved, had not ſuch unhappy chances fallen out ſhortly after,

The Queens Majeſties reckoning being near run out, ſhe cauſed me to diſpatch for *England*, to be in readineſs to give an accompt of the news of her delivery to that Queen; leaving a Blanck in her Letter to be filled up either with a Son or a Daughter, as it ſhould pleaſe God to grant unto her. And to require the Queen of *England* to ſend hither in her name, ſuch of hers as ſhe knew to be beſt inſtruments for entertaining good love and friendſhip betwixt them, to be Goſſips, as alſo to ſatisfie her concerning the moſt part of *Killegrew*'s demands.

All the while I lay within the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, praying night and day for her Majeſties good and happy delivery of a fair Son. This prayer being granted, I was the firſt who was thereof advertiſed by the Lady *Boin* in her Majeſties Name to part with diligence the 19 *th.* of *June* 1555 betwixt Ten and Eleven in the morning. By Twelve of the Clock I took Horſe, and was that night at *Berwick*. The fourth day after, I was at *London*, and did firſt meet with my Brother Sir *Robert*, who that ſame night ſent and advertiſed Secretary *Cicil* of my arrival, and of the Birth of the Prince, deſiring him to keep it quiet till my coming to Court to ſhew it my ſelf unto her Majeſty, who was for the time at *Greenwich*, where her Majeſty was in great mirth, dancing after Supper. But ſo ſoon as the Secretary *Cicil* whiſpered in her Ear the news of the Prince's birth, all her mirth was laid ſide for that night. All preſent marvelling whence proceeded ſuch a change, for the Queen did ſit down putting her hand under her Cheek, burſting out to ſome of her Ladies, That the Queen of *Scots* was Mother of a fair Son, while ſhe was but a barren ſtock. The next morning was appointed for me to get Audience, at what time my Brother and I went by Water to *Greenwich*, and were met by ſome friends who told us how ſorrowful her Majeſty was at my news, but that ſhe had been adviſed to ſhew a glad and cheerful countenance: Which ſhe did in her beſt Apparel, ſaying, That the joyful news of the Queen her Siſter's delivery of a fair Son, which I had ſent her by Secretary *Cicil*, had recovered her out of a heavy ſickneſs which ſhe had lyen under for fifteen days. Therefore ſhe welcomed me with a merry volt, and thanked me for the diligence I had uſed in haſting to give her that welcome intelligence. All this ſhe ſaid, before I had delivered unto her my Letter of Credence. After that ſhe had read it, I declared how that the Queen had haſted me towards her Majeſty as one whom ſhe knew of all her friends, would be moſt joyful of the glad news of her delivery, albeit dear bought with the peril of her life, ſhe being ſo ſore handled that ſhe wiſhed ſhe had never been married. This I ſaid by the way to give her a little ſcare from marriage. For ſo my Brother had counſelled me, becauſe ſometimes ſhe boaſted to marry the Arch-duke *Charles* of *Auſtria*, when any Man preſſed her to delare a ſecond perſon. Then I requeſted her Majeſty to be a Goſſip to the Queen, to which ſhe gladly condeſcended. Your Majeſty, ſaid I, will now have a fair occaſion to ſee the Queen, whereof I have heard your Majeſty ſo oft deſirous. Whereat ſhe ſmiled, ſaying, ſhe wiſhed that her eſtate and affairs might permit her In the mean time. ſhe promiſed to ſend both honourable Lords and Ladies to ſupply her room. Then I gave her Majeſty, in my Queen's name, moſt hearty thanks, for her friendly viſiting and comforting her by Mr. *Henry Killegrew*. She inquired if I had left him in *Scotland*, and what was the cauſe of his long ſtay. I anſwered, That the Queen took her Chamber ſhortly after his arrival, which was the chief cauſe of his delay. But I had in Commiſſion to tell her Majeſty ſomething thereabout, to ſatisfie her mind in the mean time, and to thank her Majeſty for the putting away of the *Scots* Rebels out of her Country, albeit there were ſome Reports that they were yet ſecretly entertained by ſome of her Subjects, though I hardly believed that any of her Subjects durſt be ſo bold, or ſo diſobedient. She affirmed they were out of her Dominions, and if it might be otherwiſe tryed out it ſhould not paſs without rigorous puniſhment. I told her Majeſty, that upon her deſire, and Ambaſſadours complaint, the Queen had cauſed to apprehend Mr. *Ruxbie*, and had ordered him to be delivered to her Majeſty whenever ſhe ſhould pleaſe to ſend for him. And as concerning *Oneel*, ſhe had no dealing with him, nor knew that there had been any Servant of his ſent to my Lord *Arguile*, until Mr. *Killegrew*'s coming that ſhe cauſed to enquire at the ſaid Earl, who acknowledged that *Oneel* had ſent one unto him about private purpoſes betwixt themſelves, but that ſhe did neither ſee nor ſpeak with that Man, nor had any dealing with any Man in *Ireland*.

Her Majeſty ſeemed to be well ſatisfied with the matters of *Ireland*, and concerning Mr. *Ruxbie*, but ſhe forgot to ſend for him. Before I took my farewell in order to my return, I entered with her Majeſty concerning the Title. For my Lord of *Leiceſter* was become my Queens avowed friend, and had been twice in hand with the Queen of *England* a little before my coming, deſiring her to declare my Miſtreſs next Heir: Alledging it would be her greateſt ſecurity, and cried out in anger that *Cicil* would undo all. Likewiſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and ſeveral others, ſhewed themſelves openly her friends, after they underſtood the birth of the Prince. So that her Majeſty's matters in *England* were hopeful; and therefore I was adviſed to ſay unto her Majeſty, That I was aſſured ſhe had formerly delayed the declaring the Queen ſecond perſon, only till ſhe might ſee ſuch Succeſſion of her body as now God had graciouſly granted: intreating her Majeſty to embrace that fair offered opportunity of ſatisfying the minds of many, as well in *England* as in *Scotland*, who deſired to ſee that matter out of doubt. And the rather becauſe that the Queen my Miſtreſs, would never ſeek any Place or Right in *England*, but by her Majeſties favour and furtherance. She anſwered, That the birth of the Prince, was a great Spur to cauſe the moſt skilful Lawyers in *England*, to uſe greater diligence in trying out that matter, which ſhe eſteemed to belong moſt juſtly to her good Siſter, and that ſhe wiſhed from her heart that it ſhould be that way decided. I replied, That at my laſt being with her, I found her Majeſty upon the ſame tearms, but that as I had brought her good news from the Queen, I was very deſirous to be ſo happy as to carry home with me unto her Majeſty, the good tydings of that ſo long delayed Declaration. She anſwered, ſhe was reſolved to ſatisfie the Queen in that matter, by thoſe Noblemen ſhe was reſolved to ſend unto *Scotland*, for the Baptiſm of the Prince. All this I perceived to be but ſhifts, and ſo took my leave, becauſe my Brother was to remain there. The next day her Majeſty ſent unto me her Letter, with the Preſent of a fair Chain.

My Brother gave me the advice of her Majeſties friends, together with his own inſtructions how to proceed after my coming home as followeth.

Firſt, that he is in ſuch ſuſpicion for his handling there, by the advertiſements of Mr. *Ruxbie*, and practiſes of her Enemies, that her Majeſty muſt ſignifie to Mr. *Killegrew* that ſhe is minded ſhortly to call him home, elſe he fears he ſhall be commanded to return.

Secondly, That her Majeſty require the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Secretary *Cicil* to be ſent to be her Goſſips, as fitteſt inſtruments to perfect all Articles and good Offices of Amity betwixt them.

Item, That Mr. *Killegrew* be well treated and rewarded, that he may make good report to hold off diſcord, that intelligence may continue; and deſire him to declare unto the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and Secretary *Cicil*, that it cannot ſtand with good friendſhip, to be ſo long fed with fair woods without effect.

Item, That her Majeſty caſt not off the Earl of *Northumberland*, albeit as a fearful and facile man he delivered her Letter to the Queen of *England*; neither appear to find fault with Sir *Henry Pearcie* as yet, for his dealing with Mr. *Ruxbie*, which he doeth to gain favour at

Court, being upon a contrary faction to his Brother the Earl.

Item, That Mr. *Ruxbie* be well kept, and ſent far North to ſome ſecure part that he give no haſty intelligence, for he hath already written unto Secretary *Cicil* by Sir *Henry Pearcy* his convoyance, that he can diſcover all your practiſes and ſecrets.

Let my Lord *Arguile* entertain *Oneel* as of himſelf, the Queen not appearing to know thereof.

The Secretary *Cicil* deviſed ſtrange practiſes againſt the meeting, which becauſe my Lord of *Leiceſter* diſcovered unto the Queen his Miſtreſs, *Cicil* ſtirred up the Earl of *Suſſex* to forge a quarrel againſt him, but the Queen took the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s part, and finally agreed them, and alſo *Leiceſter* and *Ormond*.

Item, That her Majeſty ſhould write two Letters with Mr, *Killegrew* to my Brother, the one that he might ſhew unto the Queen of *England*, the other that he might ſhew unto the Secretary *Cicil*.

Item, To advertiſe my Brother what he ſhould do more for my Lady *Lennox*, whoſe liberty might do much good.

Now to conclude, ſeeing the great mark which her Majeſty ſhoots at, let her Majeſty be more careful and circumſpect that her deſires being ſo near to be obtained, be not all over-thrown for lack of ſecrecy, good management, and Princely behaviour, having ſo many factious Enemies lying in wait to make their advantage of the leaſt appearance that can be made.

Shortly after my coming home Mr. *Killegrew* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour obtained his diſpatch, with a friendly anſwer to his contentment, and a fair Chain; and with him her Majeſty ſent theſe two Letters following to my Brother by his own advice that he might take occaſion to let the Queen of *England* ſee the one, and Mr. *Cicil* the other, partly to ſerve to put ſome doubts out of their minds ingendered by Mr. *Ruxbie*'s advertiſements, for, as I have ſaid, the Biſhop of *Roſs* made the ſaid *Ruxbie*'s addreſs to the Queen, for neither he nor the Earl *Bothwel* deſired her Majeſties affairs to proſper under my Brother's management, becauſe he was not of their Faction, ſo that by their means *Ruxbie* got that intelligence as put all her Majeſties affairs once in a venture, until my Brother's extraordinary intelligence from ſuch as were moſt intimate with the Queen of *England*, made him cauſe to apprehend the ſaid *Ruxbie* with his whole Letters and Memoires; as ſaid is, ſo are many good Princes handled, and commonly their trueſt Servants decourted by the envy and craft of their factious Enemies, for wicked men who have loſt their credit by trumpery and tricks, whereby they get no place to do good ſervice to Princes, eſſay to creep unto their favour by wiles, flattery, and other unlawful means, whereby they may decourt ſuch as ſurmount them in vertue, and honeſt reputation, her Majeſties Letter to my Brother was as followeth.

" Truſty and well-beloved, We Greet you well, Whereas your
" Brother *James* hath told Us of the friendly and faithful advice
" given unto you and him, by Mr. Secretary *Cicil*, toward the conti-
" nuation of the amity betwixt the Queen Our good Siſter and Us, ten-
" ding alſo to Our own particular advantage; We thought meet to ſend
" theſe

“ theſe few lines to you, that you may thank him heartily in Our Name, and declare unto him our meaning and intention, as you find opportunity touching the three Points that he did mention at that time.

“ The firſt, as we underſtand, touching our towardlineſs to them of the Religion. The ſecond touching ſtrict juſtice to be obſerved upon the Borders. The third, that we will endeavour by no other means to come to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, but by the favour and forth-ſetting of our good Siſter.

“ As to the firſt, you ſhall anſwer in Our name, That ſince Our return out of *France* We have neither conſtrained nor perſecuted any for cauſe of Religion, nor yet minds to do; their credit with Us being ſo manifeſt, that they are intruſted with the principal Offices, and bear the chiefeſt charges in the Kingdom, and principally imployed in our moſt urgent Affairs before all others: Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* can teſtifie what he hath ſeen and heard at his being here thereanent, howbeit that contrary Brutes are blown abroad by the malice and practiſes of our Enemies. To the ſecond, concerning the borders, it is moſt certain that the principal Officers on both the ſides are ſpecial inſtruments of all the diſorders, taking occaſion upon Our late troubles, when as they perceived that we might not ſo well take order with them, as We were willing; as now when it hath pleaſed God to grant unto Us more quietneſs. Deſiring him alſo to procure at the Queen his Sovereign's hands that the like diligence be taken for her part as ſhall be ſeen uſed by Us; and then we doubt not but that both he, ſhe and all other who complain ſhall be ſatisfied. As to the third and laſt head, you ſhall ſhew unto him the tenor of Our other Letter, for ſatisfaction to the Queen and Our other Friends in theſe parts. So with my friendly commendations to him and his wife, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh* this Year 1566.

“ TRuſty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. We have received great comfort and contentment by the Declaration your Brother hath made to Us, of the Queen Our good Siſter's continual affection and conſtant love towards Us; which ſhe hath now ſhewn unto you, and your Brother at his coming; as alſo by her Letters unto Our Self: Likewiſe for the grant ſhe hath made to be Our Goſſip, and promiſes to ſend ſo honourable a Company of Lords and Ladies, for ſolemnizing the ſame in her Name; for which in Our behalf you ſhall give her Majeſty moſt hearty thanks, and ſhew unto her that We deſire nothing to be done therein, but as may conduce beſt for her advantage, and leaſt to her expence; praying her always that the principal Man, whom it will pleaſe her to ſend, be ſuch a one as We have by long experience known to have been moſt familiar with her, to whom We may the more freely open Our mind, and ſignifie divers things which We intended to have ſpoken by mouth unto her ſelf if God had granted Our deſired meeting. As concerning *Oneel*, *Ruxbie* and all other matters, We hope that Mr. *Killegrew* will ſatisfie her ſufficiently, and alſo how that We deſire to "have no advancement in that Country, but by her only means and "help, hoping and intending ſo to direct our courſe and behaviour "toward her, as ſhe ſhall have cauſe more and more to procure ear-"neſtly and carefully her ſelf, all things that may further Our Weal "and Advancement, in this Country, that Kingdom, or any other. In "the which hope We will do our beſt to follow ſuch meaſures as may "pleaſe her, and to avoid all things that may offend her; and We "give our moſt ſtrict command unto you to do the like, ſo long as "you remain there; And wherever you be about Our ſervice even as "I gave you Commandment of before, nevertheleſs in the mean time, "entertain moſt kindly and diſcreetly all thoſe in that Country who "profeſs to bear good will unto Us, and to our Title, yet in ſuch ſort "as neither you nor they offend the Queen Our good Siſter: And "if there chance to come to you any haſty or ſeditious perſons, ad-"moniſh them gently to ceaſe, and if they forbear not, ſhew unto "them, that We have promiſed to the Queen to declare the Names "and Practiſes of ſuch unto her; and that we will not fail to do it in-"deed if they ceaſe not: So ſhall it be known, that ſuch as are about "to ſow diſcord between the Queen our good Siſter and Us, doth it "rather upon particular reſpects and for their own advantage, then for "any deſign to advance her Affairs or Ours.

Theſe kind of Writings were for that time deviſed to overthrow and caſt down ſome intelligences, which were diſcovered by *Ruxbie*, and ſome reports raiſed by Enemies, that my Brother by his practiſes and perſwaſions had kindled a great fire, and had raiſed a great faction in *England*; he did not deny but he had dealt with many to win what favour he could to his Miſtreſs, but that he had done nothing that could offend the Queen of *England*, and that he had no Commandment to enterpriſe any thing which could be diſpleaſing to her; by this means *Ruxbie*'s intelligence was ſuppreſſed, and my Brother ſuffered to ſtay ſtill in *England*, whereby the Queens friends ſo increaſed, that many whole Shires were ready to Rebell, and their Captains already named by the Election of the Nobility.

About this time her Majeſty was advertiſed by my Brothers Letters, that the Earl of *Bedford* was upon his journey toward *Scotland* with an honourable Company: As alſo the Ambaſſadour of *France* and *Savoy* for the Baptiſm of the Prince, which moved her Majeſty to paſs to *Sterling* with the Prince, for the ſolemnizing thereof, but ſhe was ſtill ſad, and penſive for the late foul act committed in her preſence ſo irreverently, ſhe being their born Queen, and thereby in hazard of loſing the fruit of her Womb, ſo many great ſighs ſhe would give that it was pitty to hear her, and few there were to indeavour to comfort her.

Sometime ſhe would declare part her of grief to me, which I eſſayed the beſt I could to aſſwage, by telling her that I thought the greater multitude of friends that ſhe had got in *England*, ſhould cauſe her to forget in *Scotland* the leſſer number of Enemies and unruly offenders, unworthy of her wrath, and that her excellent qualities in Clemency, Temperance, and Fortitude ſhould not ſuffer her mind to be poſſeſt or ſuppreſt with the remembrance of offences, but that rather ſhe ſhould bend up her ſpirit by a Princely and Womanly behaviour, whereby ſhe might beſt gain the hearts of the whole people, both here and in *England*, humbly requeſting her Majeſty firſt to conſult with her God, next with her honour, and thirdly with her intereſt in the eſtabliſhing of her ſtate, and in joining the two Kingdoms in a happy Monarchy, which ſhe knew to be ſo near effectuate in her perſon, ſeeing alſo the baniſhed eſtate of the offenders ſo miſerable, they not having a hole to hide their head in, nor a peny wherewith to buy their Dinner; that the moſt noble natures would think them ſufficiently puniſhed; that it was a comely thing for a woman to be pitiful, and to want vengeance. I leave it, ſaid I Madam, to your own judgment, whether preſently it be more for your honour, and advancement of your intereſt, to ceaſe from any deſire or purſuit of any further revenge, whereupon may enſue more deſperate enterpriſes, or to give place unto neceſſity and reaſon to rule over the beaſtly paſſions of the mind. For as Princes are called divine perſons, ſo no Prince can pretend to this Title but he who draws near the nature of God by godlineſs and good Government, being ſlow to vengeance and ready to forgive. It is manifeſtly known that wiſe Princes entertain no longer feud at their Enemies, then they ſee it may be needful for the weal of their Affairs and State; and they change their favour and hatred according to time and occaſions. Your Majeſty may remember that many things might have been better managed, I ſpeak this with love and reverence. Your Majeſty might have been as well obeyed as ever was any King in *Scotland*, if you had taken ſuch Princely care as was requiſite. You know how that by your Majeſties own expreſs Commandment, I did ſhew you long before what inconveniencies were like to fall out upon the grudges I perceived before the ſlaughter of *Rixio*, and God is my witneſs I did what lay in my power to have them eſchewed, and prevented. And ſince that time your Majeſty hath repented that my advice was not followed: I pray God that the like repentance fall not out again too late. At my being in *England*, your adverſaries were beginning to vaunt upon vain reports, that our Weſterly winds had blown Eaſt among them; ſo that my Brother and I had enough to do to beat it out of the heads of divers, who were devotedly addicted to the advancement of your Title.

This communing began at the entry of her Supper in her Ear in *French*, when ſhe was caſting up great ſighs, refuſing to eat upon any perſwaſion that my Lord of *Murray* and *Mar* could make to her. The Supper being ended her Majeſty took me by the hand, and went down through the Park of *Sterling*, and came up through the Town, ever reaſoning with me upon their purpoſes. And albeit ſhe took hardly with them at the firſt, ſhe began to alter her mind, thinking fit that my Lord of *Bedford* ſhould intercede for her Rebels; they to be baniſhed out of *England* and *Scotland* during her pleaſure, ſo to be by time reconciled to them according to their future deportments, and for her part ſhe purpoſed to proceed with ſuch a gracious Government, as ſhould win the victory over her ſelf, and all her Competitours, and Enemies in time coming: which ſhe could have done as well as any Prince in Europe. But, alas, ſhe had bad Company about her, for

the

the Earl of *Bothwel* who had a mark of his own that he ſhot at, as ſoon as he underſtood of her wiſe and merciful deliberations, he took occaſion to bring in the Earl of *Mortoun* and his aſſociates, thereby to make them his friends, and by them to fortifie his faction. For apparently he had already in his head the reſolution of performing the foul murther of the King, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the Queen. Both which he brought to paſs to his own utter wrack and confuſion, and thereby great trouble and miſchief upon the Country; and was alſo at laſt the Queens wrack, and the hinderance of all our hopes in the haſty obtaining of all her deſires concerning the Crown of *England*.

The Queens Majeſty being advertiſed that the Earl of *Bedford* was come to *Berwick* on his Journey to the Baptiſm, ſent me well accompanied with diligence to meet him at *Coldingham* to be his firſt Convoy, and to inform him rightly of all her proceedings, and to overthrow all evil brutes invented by the malice of her adverſaries. For as I have ſaid, it was a perverſe time, and the more that the number of her friends increaſed in *England*, the more practiſes her Enemies made, and the more lyes were invented againſt her. But the good Earl gave me more credit, then he did to any wrong report that was made. For he was at this time become one of the ſureſt and moſt affectionate friends ſhe had in *England*.

There came with him Mr. *Cary* eldeſt Son to my Lord of *Huſdean*. Mr. *Hattoun* greateſt in favour with the Queen of *England* for the time, and one called Mr. *Ligniſh* greateſt in favour with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and a good number of Knights and Gentlemen of *York-ſhire*. with the moſt part of the Captains of *Berwick*. Her Majeſty was ſufficiently informed by my Brother's writing to her and me, what kind of language and entertainment was moſt proper for the Earl, and each of them.

When all the reſt of the Ambaſſadours were come, they repined to ſee the *Engliſh-men* more friendly and familiarly uſed then themſelves. For then we had more to do with *England* then with *France*. And the *French* Earl who was ſent, was no Courtier, but a ſimple Man. And *Monſieur de Morat* the Duke of *Savoy* his Ambaſſadour being far off, came after the Baptiſm. During their abode at *Sterling*, there was daily Banqueting, Dancing, and Triumph. And at the principal Banquiet there fell out a great grudge among the *Engliſh-men*; for a *Frenchman* called *Baſtien* deviſed a number of Men formed like *Satyrs* with long Tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat which was brought through the great Hall upon a Machine or Engine marching as appeared alone, with Muſicians clothed like Maids, ſinging and playing upon all ſorts of Inſtruments. But the *Satyrs* were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their Tails, which they wagged with their hands in ſuch ſort as the *Engliſh-men* ſuppoſed it had been deviſed and done in deriſion of them, weakly apprehending that which they ſhould not have appeared to underſtand: for Mr. *Hattoun*, Mr. *Ligniſh*, and the moſt part of the Gentlemen deſired to Sup before the Queen and great Banquet, that they might ſee the better the Order and Ceremonies of the Triumph. But ſo ſoon as they perceived the *Satyrs* wagging their Tails, they all ſate down upon the bare floor behind the back of the Table, that they might not ſee themſelves derided as they thought. Mr. *Hatton* ſaid unto me if it were not in the Queens preſence he would put a Dagger to the heart of that *French* knave *Baſtien*, who he alledged had done it out of deſpight that the Queen made more of them then of the *French-men*. I excuſed the matter the beſt I could, but the noiſe was ſo great behind the Queen's back, where her Majeſty and my Lord of *Bedford* did ſit, that they heard and turned about their faces to enquire what the matter meant. I informed them that it was occaſioned by the *Satyrs*, ſo that the Queen and my Lord of *Bedford* had both enough to do to get them appeaſed. It fell out unhappily at ſuch a time, and the *Engliſh* Gentlemen committed a great overſight to notice it as done againſt them. But my Lord of *Bedford* was diſcreet and interpreted all things to the beſt.

My Lord of *Bedford* was rewarded with a rich Chain of Diamonds, worth two thouſand Crowns; Mr. *Cary* with a Chain of Pearl, and a Ring with a fair Diamond; Mr. *Hattoun* had a Chain with her Majeſties Picture, and a Ring; Mr. *Ligniſh* and five other of Quality had each of them Chains. I was commanded with many others to attend them towards the Road. They parted all very well content and ſatisfied with the Queens Majeſty, but lamented that they perceived the King ſo much ſlighted. My Lord of *Bedford* deſired me to requeſt her Majeſty to entertain him as ſhe had done at the beginning, for her own honour and the advancement of her affairs, which I forgot not to do at all occaſions.

After the Baptiſm and parting of the Ambaſſadours, her Majeſty deſirous to put good order upon the Borders, ſent the Earl of *Bothwel* before, who in the purſuit of Thieves was hurt. Her Majeſty paſt afterward to *Jedbrug* her ſelf, where the Earls of *Bothwel* and *Huntly* enterpriſed the ſlaughter of the Earl of *Murray*, but the Lord *Hume* came there with forces and prevented that enterpriſe. Her Majeſty returned by the *Merſe*, and deſired to ſee *Berwick* afar off, where ſhe was honoured with many ſhots of Artillery, and Sir *John Foſter* Warden upon the *Engliſh* Border came and conferred with her Majeſty for keeping of good order. And the mean time while he was ſpeaking with her Majeſty on Horſe-back, his Courſer did riſe up with his formoſt Legs, to take the Queens Horſe by the Neck with his Teeth, but his Feet hurt her Majeſtie's Thigh very ill. Incontinent the Warden lighted off his Horſe and ſate down upon his knees craving her Majeſties pardon. For then all *England* did much reverence her; her Majeſty made him to riſe, and ſaid that ſhe was not hurt, yet it compelled her Majeſty to tarry two days at the Caſtle of *Hoome* until ſhe recovered again. The King followed her about whitherſoever ſhe rode, but got no good countenance. So that finding himſelf ſlighted, he went to *Glaſcow*, where he fell ſick, it being alledged that he had got poiſon from ſome of his Servants.

In the mean time the Earl of *Bothwel* ruled all at Court, having brought home the baniſhed Lords, and packed up a quiet friendſhip with the Earl of *Mortoun*. After her Majeſties return to *Edinbrugh*, ſhe reconciled the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwel*, *Arguile* and others. From that her Majeſty went to *Sterling*, to ſee the Prince, and returned again to *Edinbrugh* whither the King was afterward brought, and lodged in the Kirk-field, as a place of good Air, where he might beſt recover his health. But many ſuſpected that the Earl of *Bothwel* had ſome enterpriſe againſt him, few durſt advertiſe him becauſe he told all again to ſome of his own Servants, who were not all honeſt. Yet Lord *Robert* Earl of *Orkny* told him that if he retired not haſtily out of that place, it would coſt him his life, which he told again to the Queen; and my Lord *Robert* denied that ever he ſpoke it. This advertiſement moved the Earl of *Bothwel*, to haſt forward his enterprize: he had before laid a train of Powder under the Houſe where the King did lodge, and in the night did blow up the ſaid Houſe with the Powder; but it was ſpoken that the King was taken forth, and brought down to a Stable, where a Napkin was ſtopped in his mouth, and he therewith ſuffocated.

Every body ſuſpected the Earl of *Bothwel*, and thoſe who durſt ſpeak freely to others, ſaid plainly that it was he. Whereupon he drew together a number of Lords of his dependers to be an Aſſize, which cleanſed and acquitted him; ſome for fear, ſome for favour, and the greateſt part in expectation of advantage. This way being aſſailed, he remained ſtill the greateſt favourite at Court, My Lord of *Murray* was retired from the Court ſeveral days before. Her Majeſty kept her Chamber for a while. I came to the door the next morning after the murther, and the Earl of *Bothwel* ſaid that her Majeſty was ſorrowful and quiet, which occaſioned him to come forth. He ſaid the ſtrangeſt accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for Thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the King's Houſe, and himſelf was found dead lying a little diſtance from the Houſe under a Tree. He deſired me to go up and ſee him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his Body. But when I went up to ſee him he had been taken into a Chamber, and kept by one *Alexander Durham*, but I could not get a ſight of him.

The bruit began to riſe that the Queen would marry the Earl of *Bothwel*; who had ſix months before married the Earl of *Huntly*'s Siſter, and that for this deſign he was reſolved to part with his own Lady. Whereat every good Subject who loved the Queens honour, and the Prince's ſafety, had ſore hearts, thinking thereby her Majeſty would be diſhonoured, and the Prince in danger to be cut off by him who had ſlain his Father. But few or none durſt ſpeak in the contrary; yet my Lord *Herreis* a worthy Nobleman came to *Edinbrugh* well accompanied, and told her Majeſty what reports were going through the Country, of the Earl of *Bothwel*'s murthering the King, and how that ſhe was to marry him, requeſting her Majeſty moſt humbly upon his knees to remember her honour and dignity, and the ſafety of the Prince, which all would be in danger if ſhe married the ſaid Earl, with many other great perſwaſions to ſhew the utter wrack and inconveniencies would be thereby occaſioned. Her Majeſty appeared to wonder how theſe reports could go abroad, ſeeing, as ſhe ſaid, there was no ſuch thing in her mind. He beg'd her Majeſties pardon, and prayed her to take his honeſt meaning in a good part. And immediately took his farewell, fearing the Earl of *Bothwel* ſhould get notice thereof. He had fifty Horſe with him for the time, and cauſed each of them to buy a new Spear at *Edinbrugh* and ſo rode home.

I was reſolved to have ſaid as much to her Majeſty, but in the mean time there came a Letter to me from one *Thomas Biſhop* a *Scottiſhman*, who had been long in *England*, and was a great perſwader of many in *England* to favour her Majeſties Title. He uſed oft to write unto my Brother and me, informations and advertiſements. At this time in his Letter to me, he uſed even the like Language that my Lord *Harreis* had ſpoken, but more freely becauſe he was abſent in another Country. He adjured me to ſhew the ſaid Letter unto her Majeſty, declaring how it was bruited in *England* that her Majeſty was to marry the Earl of *Bothwel*, who was the murtherer of her Husband, who at preſent had a Wife of his own, a Man full of all Vice, which reports he could not believe, by reaſon that he judged her Majeſty to be of far greater knowledge, then to commit ſuch a groſs overſight, ſo prejudicial every way to her intereſt, and the noble mark he knew ſhe ſhot at: Seeing if ſhe married him, ſhe would loſe the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*, with many other diſſwaſions and examples of Hiſtory, which would be tedious to rehearſe. I had been ſome days abſent, but upon receipt hereof I went to Court to ſhew this Letter to her Majeſty, proteſting that ſhe would take it in good part.

After that her Majeſty had read the ſaid Letter, ſhe gave it me again without any more ſpeech, but called upon the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and told him that I had ſhewed her a ſtrange Letter, deſiring him alſo to read it. He asked what it could be. She anſwered, a device of his own tending to the wrack of the Earl of *Bothwel*. He took me by the hand and drew me aſide to ſee the ſaid Letter, which when he had read he asked what had been in my mind, for, ſays he, ſo ſoon as the Earl *Bothwel* gets notice hereof, as I fear he will very ſhortly, he will cauſe you to be killed. I ſaid it was a ſore matter to ſee that good Princeſs run to utter wrack, and no body to be ſo far concerned in her as to forewarn her of her danger. He ſaid I had done more honeſtly then wiſely, and therefore I pray you, ſays he, retire diligently before the Earl of *Bothwel* comes up from his Dinner. Her Majeſty told him at her firſt meeting, having firſt ingaged him to promiſe to do me no harm. Notwithſtanding whereof, I was inquired after, but was flown and could not be found till his fury was ſlaked: For I was advertiſed there was nothing but ſlaughter in caſe I had been gotten. Whereat her Majeſty was much diſſatisfied, telling him that he would cauſe her be left of all her Servants, whereupon he renewed his ingagements that I ſhould receive no harm, whereof I being advertiſed I went again unto her Majeſty, ſhewing her that ſhe had never ſo much injured me as by thinking that I had invented the ſaid Letter, aſſuring her that it came from the ſaid *Thomas Biſhop*, and that albeit it had not come from him, I thought it my duty to have freely told her Majeſty my opinion in all reverence and humility, which was contained in the ſaid Letter, but I found ſhe had no mind to enter upon this ſubject.

Shortly after her Majeſty went to *Sterling*, and in her back-coming betwixt *Lithgow* and *Edinbrugh*, the Earl of *Bothwel* rancountered her with a great Company, and took her Majeſties Horſe by the Bridle, his men took the Earl of *Huntly*, the Secretary *Lidingtoun* and me, and carried us Captives to *Dumbar* : All the reſt were permitted to go free. There the Earl of *Bothwel* boaſted he would marry the Queen, who would or who would not; yea whether ſhe would her ſelf or not. Captain *Blachater* who had taken me, alledged that it was with the Queens own conſent. The next day in *Dumbar* I obtained permiſſion to go home. Afterward the Court came to *Edinburgh*, and there a number of Noblemen were drawn together in a Chamber within the Palace, where they all ſubſcribed a paper, declaring that they judged it was much the Queens intereſt to marry *Bothwel*, he having many friends in *Louthian* and upon the Borders, which would cauſe good order to be kept. And then the Queen could not but marry him, ſeeing he had raviſhed her and lain with her againſt her will. I cannot tell how nor by what Law he parted with his own Wife, Siſter to the Earl of *Huntly*.

A little before this the Earl of *Murray* had deſired liberty to go to *France*, the Secretary *Lidingtoun* had been long in ſuſpicion abſent from Court, and was brought in again by my Brother Sir *Robert*'s perſwaſion, for the great credit and handling he had with many Noblemen in *England* favourers of her Majeſties Title, albeit that he had as great credit himſelf yet he would not follow the cuſtom of ambitious Courtiers who would ingroſs all to themſelves, unwilling to ſuffer a Companion. He knew alſo that he was ſuſpected, becauſe the Earl *Bothwel* was not his friend. Thus *Lidingtoun* was again brought in; but not long after the Earl of *Bothwel* thought to have ſlain him in the Queens Chamber, had not her Majeſty come betwixt and ſaved him: but he fled the next day and tarried with the Earl of *Athol*. As for me I was not oft at Court but now and then, yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the Court, I found my Lord Duke of *Orkny* ſitting at his Supper who welcomed me, ſaying, I had been a great ſtranger, deſiring me to ſit down and Sup with him: the Earl of *Huntly*, the Juſtice, Clerk and divers others being ſitting at Table, with him. I ſaid I had already Supped, then he called for a Cup of Wine and drank to me, ſaying, you had need grow fatter, for, ſays he, the zeal of the Common-wealth hath eaten you up, and made you lean. I anſwered, that every little member ſhould ſerve for ſome uſe, but the care of the Common-wealth appertained moſt to him, and the reſt of the Nobility, who ſhould be as Fathers of the ſame. I knew well, ſays he, he would find a pin for every bore. Then he fell in diſcourſing with the Gentlewomen, ſpeaking ſuch filthy language, that they and I left him, and went up to the Queen who expreſſed much ſatisfaction at my coming.

The marriage was made at the Palace in *Halyrood-houſe*, after Sermon by *Adam Bothwel* Biſhop of *Orkny*, in the great Hall where the Council uſeth to ſit, according to the order of the Reformed Religion, and not in the Chappel at the Maſs as was the King's marriage.

After the marriage he who was Earl of *Bothwel* now Duke of *Orkny*, was very earneſt to get the Prince in his hands, but my Lord of *Mar*, who was a true Nobleman, would not deliver him out of his cuſtody, alledging that he could not without conſent of the three States: Yet he was ſo frequently croſt by ſuch as had the Authority in their hands; that he was thereby put to a great ſtrait. And after that he had made divers refuſals, among others he made his moan to me, praying me to help to ſave the Prince out of his hands who had ſlain his Father, and had already made his vaunt among his familiars, that if he could get him once in his hands, he ſhould warrant him from revenging his Father's death. I aſſured his Lordſhip he ſhould want no aſſiſtance I was capable to give: He deſired to know if I could propoſe any outgate: I anſwered, That I was intimately acquainted with Sir *James Balfour*, and that I knew how matters ſtood betwixt *Bothwel* and him, namely, there were ſome jealouſies ariſen betwixt them, which I thought if rightly managed, might be improved for the Prince's ſafety. I alſo told him that the Earl intended to have the Caſtle out of his hands; for the Earl and he had been great Companions; and he was alſo very great with the Queen, ſo that the cuſtody of the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh* was committed to him: But afterward he would not conſent to be preſent, nor take part with the murtherers of the King, whereby he came in ſuſpicion with the Earl of *Bothwel*, who would no more credit him, ſo that he would have had the Caſtle out of his hands, to have committed the charge thereof to the Laird of *Beenſtoun*. I told his Lordſhip he might make this one of his excuſes, That he could not deliver the Prince till he ſhould ſee a ſecure Place to keep him in. And upon the other hand, when I returned to *Edinbrugh*, I dealt with Sir *James Balfour* not to part with the Caſtle, whereby he might be an inſtrument to ſave the Prince and the Queen, who was ſo diſdainfully handled, and with ſuch reproachful language, that in preſence of *Arthur Aroskine*, I heard her ask for a knife to ſtab her ſelf, or elſe, ſaid ſhe, I ſhall drown my ſelf. Now, ſays I, to Sir *James Balfour*, there is no ſecurity for you to be out of ſuſpicion, but to keep the Caſtle in your own hands, and ſo to be the good inſtrument both of ſaving Queen and Prince, and in aſſiſting the Nobility who are about to Crown the Prince, and to purſue the Earl of *Bothwel* for the King's murther; I told him that unleſs he took part with them, he would be holden as guilty of the ſaid murther, by reaſon of his long familiarity with the Earl of *Bothwel*: That it was a happy thing for him that the ſaid Earl was in ſuſpicion of him, aſſuring him that I had intelligence by one who was of the Earl of *Bothwel*'s Councel, to wit, the Laird of *Whitlaw*, Captain of the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, that the Earl of *Bothwel* was determined to take the Caſtle of *Ebinbrugh* from him, and make the Laird of *Beenſtoun* one *Hepburn* Captain thereof, and then to put the Prince there in his keeping.

Sir *James Balfour* gave ear to my propoſition, and conſented to help to purſue the murtherers, upon condition that the Laird of *Grange* would ingage upon his honour to be his Protector, in caſe afterward the Nobility ſhould alter upon him, for he and moſt of them had formerly run contrary courſes, ſo that he durſt not credit them.

The Earl of *Mar* being hereof from me advertiſed, by his Brother *Alexander Areskine*, who was true and careful of the Prince's ſafety, coming ſecretly to me at midnight, for the days were dangerous for all honeſt Men. Now my Lord of *Mar* being continually required, and threat'ned to deliver the Prince out of his hands, at length granted (only to drive off time) upon condition, that an honeſt reſponſible Nobleman ſhould be made Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, the only ſecure place of keeping the Prince in. This anſwer was thought fit to aſſwage the preſent fury, until the Nobility might convene to purſue the Murtherers, and to Crown the Prince, as they had already concluded at a ſecret meeting among themſelves, which was not kept ſo private but that one of the ſaid Lords gave advertiſement thereof to the Earl of *Bothwel* how that they were minded to inviron the place of *Haliroad-houſe*, and therein to apprehend him: Whereupon he forgot inquiring after the Prince, being only now concerned how to ſave himſelf: therefore he fled out of *Edinbrugh* to the Caſtle of *Borthwick*; from that to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, taking always the Queen with him wherever he went.

All *Scotland* cryed out upon the foul murther of the King, but few of them were careful how to revenge it, till they were driven thereto by the crying out of all other Nations, againſt all *Scotiſhmen* wherever they travelled, either by Sea or Land. Among other Princes, the King of *France* ſent hither to his Ambaſſadour *Monſieur de Crook*, a grave, aged, diſcreet Gentleman, advanced by the houſe of *Guiſe*, a Letter, therein expreſſing his wonder that ſuch a foul murther being committed upon the perſon of a King, ſo few honeſt Subjects were found to find fault with the ſame, for leſs to ſeek after any tryal, or ſee the ſame puniſhed. Whereupon the Lords who had the enterpriſe in hand, were haſted forward, to take Arms, and in the mean time they obliged themſelves by a writing under their hands, which they delivered to the ſaid *Monſieur de Crook* to ſend to the King his Maſter, that they ſhould do their outmoſt diligence to try out the Authors of that foul murther of their King; and in the mean time convened to the number of 3000 men, and came to *Edinbrugh* and there ſet out a Proclamation of their juſt quarrel. Alſo ſundry Libels were ſet out both in Rime and Proſe, to move the hearts of the whole Subjects to aſſiſt and take part in ſo good a Cauſe.

The Earl of *Bothwel* having the Queen in his Company, convened a greater number out of the *Merſe*, and *Lauthian*; and out of all parts where he had intereſt or friendſhip. Her Majeſties Proclamation was not well obeyed, and ſo many as came, had no hearts to fight in that quarrel. Yet the Earl of *Bothwel* marched forward out of *Dumbar* toward *Edinbrugh*, taking the Queen with him. The Lords again with their Company went out of *Edinbrugh* on foot, with an earneſt deſire to fight. Both Armies lay not far from *Carberry*; the Earl *Bothwel's* men Camped upon the Hill, in a ſtrength very advantageous, the Lords incamped at the foot of the Hill. And albeit her Majeſty was there, I cannot call it her Army: for many of thoſe who were with her, were of opinion that ſhe had intelligence with the Lords, eſpecially ſuch as were informed of the many indignities put upon her by the Earl of *Bothwel* ſince their marriage. He was ſo beaſtly and ſuſpicious, that he ſuffered her not to paſs one day in patience, without making her ſhed abundance of Tears. Thus part of his own Company deteſted him, other part of them believed that her Majeſty would fain have been quit of him, but thought ſhame to be the doer thereof directly her ſelf.

In the mean time the Laird of *Grange* did ride about the hill with two hundred horſe-men, who came there with *drumlanrig*, *Ceſfoord*, and *Couldinknows*, thinking to be betwixt the Earl of *Bothwel* and *Dumbar*, and was minded to make an onſet that way, which was plain, and that in the mean time that the Lords ſhould come up the Hill to the part where their adverſaries were Camped.

When the Queen underſtood that the Laird of *Grange* was chief of that Company of horſe-men, ſhe ſent the Laird of *Ormiſtoun* to deſire him to come and ſpeak with her under ſurety, which he did after he had acquainted the Lords with her deſire, and had obtained their permiſſion. As he was ſpeaking with her Maieſty, the Earl of *Bothwel* had appointed a Soldier to ſhoot him, until the Queen gave a cry, and ſaid that he would not do her that ſhame, ſeeing ſhe had promiſed that he ſhould come and return ſafely. He was declaring unto the Queen that all of them were ready to honour and ſerve her, upon condition that ſhe would abandon the Earl of *Bothwel*, who had murthered her Husband, and could not be a Husband unto her, who had but lately married the Earl of *Huntly's* Siſter. The Earl of *Bothwel* hearkened, and heard part of this language, and offered the Combat to any who would maintain that he had murthered the King. The Laird of *Grange* promiſed to ſend him an anſwer ſhortly thereunto. So he took his leave of the Queen, and went down the Hill to the Lords, who were content that the Laird of *Grange* ſhould fight with him in that quarrel. For he firſt offered himſelf, and acquainted *Bothwel* that he would fight with him upon that quarrel. The Earl of *Bothwel* anſwered, That he was neither Earl, nor Lord but a Baron, and ſo was not his equal. The like anſwer made he to *Tullibardine*. Then my Lord *Lindſay* offered to fight him, which he could not well refuſe, but his heart failed him, and he grew cold in the buſineſs. Then the Queen ſent again for the Laird of *Grange* and ſaid to him, that if the Lords would do as he had ſpoken to her, ſhe ſhould put away the Earl of *Bothwel*, and come unto them. Whereupon he asked the Lords if he might in their name make her Majeſty that promiſe, which they commiſſioned him to do. Then he rode up again, and ſaw the Earl of *Bothwel* part, and came down again and aſſured the Lords thereof. They deſired him to go up the Hill again, and receive the Queen, who met him, and ſaid, Laird of *Grange* I render my ſelf unto you, upon the conditions you rehearſed unto me in the name of the Lords. Whereupon ſhe gave him her hand, which he kiſſed, leading her Majeſties Horſe by the bridle down the Hill unto the Lords, who came forward and met her.

The Noblemen uſed all dutiful reverence, but ſome of the Raſcals cryed out againſt her deſpightfully, till the Laird of *Grange* and others who knew their duty better, drew their Swords and ſtruck at ſuch as did ſpeak irreverent language, which the Nobility well allowed of. Her Majeſty was that night convoyed to *Edinbrugh*, and lodged in the midſt of the Town in the Provoſts Lodging. As ſhe came through the Town, the common people cryed out againſt her Majeſty at the Windows and Stairs, which was a pity to hear. Her Majeſty again cryed out to all Gentlemen and Others, who paſſed up and down the ſtreets, declaring how that ſhe was their native Princeſs, and that ſhe doubted not but all honeſt Subjects would reſpect her as they ought to do, and not ſuffer her to be abuſed. Others again evidenced their malice, in ſetting up a Banner or Enſign, whereupon the King was painted, lying dead under a Tree, and the young Prince upon his knees praying, *Judge* and *Revenge my Cauſe, O Lord.* That ſame night it was alledged that her Majeſty did write a Letter unto the Earl of *Bothwel*, and promiſed a reward to one of her keepers to convoy it ſecurely to *Dumbar* unto the ſaid Earl, calling him her dear heart whom ſhe ſhould never forget nor abandon, though ſhe was neceſſitated to be abſent from him for a time, ſaying, that ſhe had ſent him away only for his ſafety, willing him to be comforted, and be upon his guard: Which Letter the Knave delivered to the Lords, though he had promiſed the contrary: Upon which Letter the Lords took occaſion to ſend her to *Lockleven* to be kept, which ſhe alledged was contrary to promiſe. They on the other hand affirmed, that by her own hand writing ſhe had declared that ſhe had not, nor would not abandon the Earl of *Bothwel*. *Grange* again excuſed her, alledging ſhe had in effect abandoned the ſaid Earl, that it was no wonder that ſhe gave him yet a few fair words, not doubting but if ſhe were diſcreetly handled, and humbly admoniſhed what inconveniencies that Man had brought upon her, ſhe would by degrees be brought, not only to leave him, but e're long to deteſt him: And therefore he adviſed to deal gently with her. But they ſaid, that it ſtood them upon their Lives and Lands, and that therefore in the mean time they behoved to ſecure her, and when that time came that ſhe ſhould be known to abandon and deteſt the Earl *Bothwel*, it would be then time to reaſon upon the matter. *Grange* was yet ſo angry, that had it not been for the Letter, he had inſtantly left them: and for the next beſt he uſed all poſſible diligence to make her and them both quit of the ſaid Earl, cauſing to make ready two Ships to follow after him, who had fled to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and from thence to *Sheatland*. In the mean time her Majeſty ſent a Letter to the Laird of *Grange* lamenting her hard uſage, and ſhewing him that promiſes had been broken to her. Whereunto he anſwered, that he had already reproached the Lords for the ſame, who ſhewed unto him a Letter ſent by her unto the Earl of *Bothwel*, promiſing among many other fair and comfortable words, never to abandon or forget him, which had ſtopped his mouth, marvelling that her Majeſty conſidered not, that the ſaid Earl could never be her Lawful Huſband, being ſo lately before married with another, whom he had deſerted without any juſt ground, although he had not been ſo hated for the *murther of the King* her husband. And therefore he requeſted her Maieſty to put him clean out of mind, ſeeing otherwiſe ſhe could never get the love or reſpect of her Subjects, nor have that obedience payed her, which otherwiſe ſhe might expect. It contained many other loving and humble admonitions, which made her bitterly to weep. For ſhe could not do that ſo haſtily which proceſs of time might have accompliſhed.

Now the laird of *Grange* his two Ships being in readineſs, he made ſail toward *Orkney*, and no man was ſo Frank to accompany him as the Laird of *Tullibardin*, and *Adam Bothwel* Biſhop of *Orkney*, but the Earl was fled from *Orkney* to *Sheatland*, whither alſo they followed him, and came in ſight of *Bothwel's* Ship, which moved the Laird of *Grange* to cauſe the Skipper to hoiſe up all the Sails, which they were loath to do, becauſe they knew the ſhallow water thereabout, but *Grange* fearing to miſs him, compelled the Marriners, ſo that for too great haſte the Ship wherein *Grange* was did break upon a Bed of Sand, without loſs of a man, but *Bothwel* had leaſure in the mean time to ſave himſelf in a little Boat, leaving his Ship behind him, which *Grange* took, and therein the Laird of *Tallow*, *John Hepburn* of *Bautoun*, *Dalgleeſh*, and divers others of the Earl's Servants. Himſelf fled to *Denmark*, where he was taken, and kept in ſtrait Priſon, wherein he became mad and dyed miſerably. But *Grange* came back again with *Bothwel's* Ship and Servants, who were the firſt who gave information of the manner of the murther, which the Lords thought fit to let the King of *France* underſtand, and of their diligence according to the promiſe made by them.

My Lord of *Murray* had obtained liberty to paſs unto *France*, ſhortly after the murther of the King, for he did foreſee the great trouble like to enſue. The reſt of the Lords enterpriſers after they had ſecured the Queen in *Lockleven*, began to conſult how to get her Majeſty counſelled to demit the Government to the Prince her ſon, and for that effect they dealt firſt with my Brother Sir *Robert*, becauſe he was ſome times allowed acceſs to her Majeſty. And after that he had refuſed flatly to meddle in that matter, they were minded to ſend the Lord *Lindſay*, firſt to uſe fair perſwaſions, and in caſe he could not ſpeed that way, they were reſolved to enter in harder terms. The Earls of *Athol*, *Mar*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and the Laird of *Grange* who loved her Majeſty, adviſed my Brother to tell her the verity, and how that any thing ſhe did in Priſon could not prejudge her, being once again at liberty. He anſwered, he would give no ſuch advice as coming from himſelf, but he ſhould tell it as the opinion of thoſe he knew to be her true friends. But ſhe refuſed utterly to follow that advice, till ſhe heard that the Lord *Lindſay* was at the new Houſe at the ſhore coming in, and in a very boaſting humour; and then ſhe yielded to the neceſſity of the time, and told my Brother that ſhe would not ſtrive with them, ſeeing it could do her no harm when ſhe was at liberty. So at my Lord *Lindſay's* coming, ſhe ſubſcribed the ſignature of Renunciation, and Demiſſion of the Government to the Prince, and certain Lords named in the ſaid ſignature, to be Regents to the Prince and Country; her Majeſty deſiring my Lord *Murray* who was abſent in *France* to be the firſt Regent.

This being paſt, the Lords concluded to Crown the Prince, and ſent Letters to *France* to the Earl of *Murray* to come home. In the mean time there were a number of Lords convened at *Hamiltoun*, as my Lord *Hamiltoun*, my Lord *Pasly*, *John Hamiltoun* Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, my Lord *Fleeming*, *Boid*, and divers others, to whom the Lords who were to Crown the Prince would have ſent me Commiſſioner. Which Commiſſion at the firſt I refuſed, but afterwards I accepted thereof at the advice of Secretary *Lidingtoun*, the Laird of *Grange*, and other ſecret favourers of the Queen, who judged it very fit that the whole Country ſhould be joined together in quietneſs: fearing that in caſe Civil Wars entred among them, it might endanger her Majeſties life: For it was judged that thoſe who were at *Hamiltoun* appeared to lean to the Queen.

At my coming to *Hamiltoun*, I told them my commiſſion, in the name of the other Lords, how that the King being murthered, all neighbour Nations cryed out upon the whole Kingdom, but eſpecially the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* ſollicited them to inquire after, and puniſh the murtherers. How that they had found that it was the Earl of *Bothwel*, and ſome of them who had aſſiſted him, who were puniſhed. And what was paſt ſince thereupon, was known to the whole Country. That the Queens Majeſty had demitted over the Government to the Prince her Son, whom they were minded to Crown ſhortly, whereof they thought fit to warn all the Nobility, as being reſolved to prejudge no Nobleman of his Rights, Titles or Prerogatives, requeſting them who were there Convened, to come to *Sterling*, and be preſent at the ſaid Coronation, for retaining their own priviledges, the peace and quiet of the whole Country. Some of the younger Lords anſwered, and ſaid that they would not believe, that the Queens Majeſty had demitted the Government, and if ſhe had done it, it would be found for to ſave her life. But the Biſhop who had more experience then they, reproved them, and ſaid that thoſe Noblemen had dealt very reaſonably and diſcreetly with them, ſo he drew the reſt aſide to adviſe, and then returned and gave me this anſwer.

We are beholden to the Noblemen who have ſent you with that friendly and diſcreet Commiſſion, and following their deſire we are ready to concur with them, if they give us ſufficient ſecurity of that which you have ſaid in their name, and in ſo doing, they give us occaſion to conſtruct the beſt of all their proceedings, paſt and to come. So that if they had acquainted us with their firſt enterpriſe of puniſhing the murther, we ſhould heartily have taken part with them. And whereas now we are here convened, it is not to purſue or offend any of them, but to be upon our own guards, underſtanding of ſo great a concourſe of Noblemen, Barons, Burroughs, and other Subjects. For not being made privy to their enterpriſe, we thought fit to draw our ſelves together, till we ſhould ſee whereto things would turn.

When I returned back to *Sterling*, and declared this anſwer, it was judged ſatisfactory by all wiſe and honeſt hearted men. But others ſaid, That however they minded to do, I had painted out a fair ſtory for them, and in their favours. So that I perceived them already divided in Factions and Opinions: For ſo many of our Lord as leaned to *England* deſired not the ſtability of our ſtate, others had particular prejudices and deſigns againſt the *Hamiltouns*, and expected to get them ruined, to gain advantage to themſelves by fiſhing in troubled waters. So that the *Hamiltouns* were ill uſed, for they would fain have agreed with the reſt, but their friendſhip and Society was plainly refuſed at this time, and they not permitted to come to the Coronation, nor yet to take inſtruments that they ſhould not be prejudged in any ſort, which occaſioned great trouble afterward in the Country. For they perceiving themſelves caſt off, and their friendſhip and aſſiſtance refuſed, endeavoured for their own ſecurity and defence to draw in other Noblemen, and Barons to join with them, who had not as yet joined with the other Lords, and therefore were the more eaſily drawn upon that ſide: and theſe were afterward called the Queens Lords, whey then they were convinced of the bad uſage the *Hamiltouns* had received.

I have before related that my Lord *Murray* was written for, to come home, and ſo ſoon as he came to *London* the Lords were thereof advertiſed, who deſired me to ride and meet him at *Berwick*, and ſhew him, how that the Office of Regent was appointed for him. Which Journey I accepted with the better will, in that ſome friends who were beſt inclined, thought meet to give him good counſel in due time. My Commiſſion from the Lords was to inform him of all their proceedings, and of the preſent Eſtate, and to deſire him to do nothing without their knowledge with the Queen. For they feared that he might carry himſelf with that mildneſs toward her, as to oblige her to believe he intended ſome time to releaſe her, and that he would not run ſo hard a courſe againſt her, as ſome of them would had him to do.

Another part of the ſaid Lords (that did ſtill bear a great love unto the Queen, and had compaſſion upon her eſtate, and who had entred upon that enterpriſe only for ſafety of the Prince, and puniſhment of the *king's murther*, as the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, the Lairds of *Tullibardin*, and *Grange*,) ſent their inſtructions with me to my Lord of *Murray*, praying him in their name, to behave himſelf gently and humbly unto the Queen, and to procure ſo much favor for her as he could. Not that they would adviſe him to forget any part of honeſt duty to the Lords, ſo long as they kept touch with him; but that in caſe they, or any part of them would be offended at him afterwards, for the refuſal of ſome caſuality, benefice, or the like, they would come to themſelves again, ſeeing the Queen and him in ſo good tearms, leſt he ſhould ſet her at liberty upon accompt of their misbehaviour. And further, That her Majeſty being now free of ill company, and of a clear wit, and Princely inclination, was beginning already to repent her of many things paſt, and time might bring about ſuch occaſions as they ſhould all wiſh her at liberty to Rule over them. and that in that caſe, he would loſe by his diſcreet and friendly behaviour to her. He appeared much to reliſh this device, but he ſeemed ſomewhat refractory of accepting the Government, refuſing it plainly at firſt, albeit I was informed by ſome of his company, that he was right glad when he underſtood firſt that he was to be Regent. There came home with him a *French* Ambaſſadour of my acquaintance, who was ſent to ſee how matters paſt, to comfort the Captive Queen, and to intercede for her, but he did it very ſlenderly: For he ſaid to the Lords, he came not to offend any of them, alledging that the old Band and League betwixt *France* and *Scotland* was not made with any one Prince, but betwixt the eſtates of the two Kingdoms, and with thoſe who were Commanders over the Country for the time.

After that my Lord of *Murray* had met with all his friends, he granted to accept the Government. But when he went to ſee the Queen in *Lockleven*, inſtead of comforting her, and following the good counſel he had gotten, he entred inſtantly with her Majeſty in reproaches, giving her ſuch injurious language, as was like to break her heart. We who found fault with that manner of procedure, loſt his favor. The injuries were ſuch, that they cut the thread of love and credit betwixt the Queen and him for ever.

You have heard how that the Lords who were in *Hamiltoun* were caſt off, and refuſed to be accepted into Society with the reſt, againſt the opinion of the feweſt in number, though the wiſeſt men, and leaſt factious. But the worſt inclined, and manyeſt votes obtained their intent. Whereupon the Lords who were refuſed to be taken into friendſhip, drew themſelves together in *Dumbartoun*, under the pretext to procure by force of Arms the Queen their Sovereign's liberty, and banded themſelves together againſt the king's Lords, which they would not have done, if they could have been accepted in Society with the reſt. Albeit their publick profeſſing their intention of ſpending their lives for the Queens liberty, put her Majeſties life in greater danger, ſo long as ſhe was Captive in the hands of the contrary Party, and was at length her Majeſties utter wrack. For the hope that ſhe had to get friends and favourers, cauſed her to uſe means to eſcape out of *Lockleven* too haſtily, e're the time was ripe enough to recover again the hearts of the Subjects, who were yet alienated. For albeit my Lord Regent was rigorous, he was flexible, and might have been won through proceſs of time by her wiſdom, and the intereſt of her friends. The tenour of their Bond was as followeth.

Foraſmuch as conſidering the Queens Majeſty our Sovereign, to be detained at preſent at Lockleven *in Captivity, wherefore the moſt part of her Majeſties Lieges cannot have free acceſs to her Highneſs; and ſeeing it becomes us of our duty to ſeek her liberty and freedom, We Earls, Lords, and Barons under ſubſcribing, promiſe faithfully to uſe the outmoſt of our endeavours by all reaſonable means, to procure her Majeſties liberty and freedom, upon ſuch honeſt conditions as may ſtand with her Majeſties honour, the common weal of the whole Realm, and ſecurity of the whole Nobility, who at preſent have her Majeſty in keeping. Whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided by her Majeſty and her Nobility, for the common quietneſs, the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and weal of the Country. And in caſe the Noblemen who have her Majeſty at preſent in their hands, refuſe to ſet her at Liberty, upon ſuch reaſonable conditions as ſaid is, in that caſe we ſhall employ our ſelves, our kindred, friends, ſervants, and partakers; our Bodies and Lives to ſet her Highneſs at liberty, as ſaid is; and alſo to concur to the puniſhment of the murther of the King her Majeſties Husband; and for ſure preſervation of the perſon of the Prince, as we ſhall anſwer to God; and on our honours and credit. And to that effect ſhall concur every one with other at our utmoſt power. And if any ſhall ſet upon us, or any of us, for the doing as aforeſaid in that caſe, We promiſe faithfully to eſpouſe one anothers intereſt under pain of Perjury and Infamy, as we ſhall anſwer to God. In witneſs whereof, We have ſubſcribed theſe preſents with our hand at* Dumbartoun, *the day of*

St. Andrews,
Arguile,
Huntly,
Arbroth,
Gallway,
Roſs,

Fleeming,
Herris,
Skirling,
Killwonning,
Will. Hamiltoun *of* Sanchir, *Knight.*

This ſmall number were the firſt who banded themſelves together, and afterward all thoſe who were Male-contents, or had any particular queſtions, claims, or feuds with any of the King's Lords, drew to theſe new Confederates, hoping by time to win their intent againſt their adverſaries, in caſe their faction might prevail. And ſome drew to both the factions, who neither deſired to ſee the Kirk nor Country in any ſtabliſhed eſtate.

The Court of *England* on the other hand, left nothing undon to kindle the fire, and to furniſh both the factions with hope of aſſiſtance, in caſe of need. For oft-times by their Ambaſſadours ordinary, who were reſident here, they upon ſome new occaſion would ſend in another openly to deal with the King's faction, becauſe it was ſtrongeſt, and greateſt, and under-hand to deal with the Queens faction, and alledge that their quarrel was moſt juſt and right, and that her Majeſties Authority was only lawful. No man can tell this better then I, who was ſo long well acquainted with all the Ambaſſadours who were ſent to *Scotland*, during their baniſhment in *France* in Queen *Mary's* time: as with Mr. *Randolph*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmortoun*, Mr. *Dayſon*, Mr. *Killegrew*, and the *Marſhal of Berwick*. Among the which number, Sir *Nicholas Throgmortoun* dealt moſt honeſtly and plainly, for he ſhot at the union of the whole Iſle in one Monarchy. And thought that it conſiſted only in the perſons of two for the time, to wit, the Queen, and the King her Son. And when he ſaw Mr. *Randolph* go about to ſow diſcord, he declared the ſame to my Brother and me, and deteſted him for his diviliſh intent and dealing. Yea he deteſted the whole Council of *England* for the time, and told us friendly, what reaſoning they held among themſelves for that effect: to wit, How that one of their greateſt Counſellors propoſed openly to the reſt, that it was needful for the well-fare of *England*, to foſter and nouriſh with ſome help the Civil Wars, as well in *France*, *Flanders*, as *Scotland*, whereby *England* might have many advantages, and be ſought after by all parties, and in the mean time live at reſt, and gather great riches themſelves. This advice and propoſition was well allowed of by moſt part of the Council, yet one honeſt Councellor ſtood up and ſaid, That it was a very worldly advice, and had little or nothing to do with a Chriſtian Common-wealth, nor yet would it be found profitable in all points. Firſt he ſaid, It is worldly and not godly, for though I grant, ſaid he, that *France* which is ſo potent a Kingdom, if it knew its own ſtrength, might ſuppreſs all its neighbours, and therefore would be ſo handled, yet even there the fire would dye out incontinent, except the Prince of *Conde* were better furniſhed, and helped. As for *Flanders* he ſaid, That the trouble was prejudicial to *England*, becauſe by the Wars in *Flanders*, *England's* great traffick of merchandize is hindered, whereby they have greateſt gain. As for *Scotland*, he ſaid it was againſt their weal, to hold them in diſſention, ſo long as my Lord of *Murray* was Regent, who was their friend, and would be ready to aſſiſt them with his power in their neceſſity. Another Councellor affirmed that to be true, but if my Lord *Murray* were dead, *Scotland* behoved likewiſe to be kept in hot Water. Which concluſion was commonly followed afterward, and was ſoon diſcovered by the wiſeſt, who were not factious; but too late by the reſt of the raging multitude, who through proceſs of time were ſo battered one againſt another, e're the play was ended, that they would have eaten one another with their Teeth.

Now my Lord of *Murray* having accepted the Government upon him, preſſed to have the ſtrengths in his hands, as the Caſtles of *Edinbrugh, Dumbar* and *Dumbartoun*. The Caſtle of *Edinbrugh* was ſtill in the hands of Sir *James Balfour*, who had aſſiſted the Noblemen who had purſued the murther, and now took plain part with them, and likewiſe aſſiſted the new made Regent. Yet he deſired to have the Caſtle out of his hands, which he was content to deliver up upon condition, that the Laird of *Grange* ſhould be made Captain thereof, upon the conſtancy of whoſe friendſhip he repoſed moſt; which was eaſily granted by the Regent, and all the reſt. After this the other Strengths were alſo rendred to him. Then he took great pains to ſteal ſecret Roads upon the Thieves on the Borders, tending much to the quieting thereof. He likewiſe held Juſtice *Airs* in the In-country. But was not ſo diligent as he might have been, in ſettling the differences among the Nobility, and to draw them by a ſweet and diſcreet equitable behaviour to the obedience of the King's Authority. Which might have been eaſily done, if they had gotten ſecurity for their perſons and eſtates. But ſuch as were about him, having their own ambitious and covetous ends, counſelled him otherwiſe, thinking by the wrack of others to make up themſelves. They were ſo blinded by their affections, and greedy appetites, that they thought all would ſucceed proſperouſly according to their deſires, without any reſiſtance. Thus ruſhing forward, the Regent's rough proceedings gave occaſion to many to draw to the contrary faction. And they to ſtrengthen themſelves under the name of Authority, deviſed how to draw the Queens Majeſty out of *Lockleven* to be their head, before the time was ripe. Whereof the Regent was oft and frequently warned, even by divers who were upon the Councel, of her out-taking, who deſired that way to win thanks at his hands. But he would credit nothing, but ſuch things as came out of the mouths of thoſe who had crept into his favour by flattery.

In the mean time the Queen was convoyed out of *Lodkleven* by *George Duglas* the Lairds Brother, and the Regents half Brother, who was for the time in ſome evil tearms with them. The old Lady his Mother, was alſo thought to be upon the Gouncel. My Lord *Seatoun*, and ſome of the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*, and divers of their dependers, received her Majeſty at her landing out of the *Logh*, and convoyed her to *Hamiltoun*.

The Regent being for the time at *Glaſcow* holding Juſtice *Eyrs*, Proclamations and Miſſives were incontinently ſent abroad, by both ſides, to convene ſo many as would act for them in the Country. One *French* Ambaſſadour was come to *Edinbrugh* ten days before, called Monſieur *de Beumont* Knight of the Order of the Cockle, whom I had convoyed to *Glaſcow*, and had procured to him a ſight of the Queen, while Captive. He ſaid to me, that he never did ſee ſo many men ſo ſuddenly convened, for he rode to *Hamiltoun* to the Queen, and dealt between the parties for peace, but was not heard. Her Majeſty was not minded to fight, nor hazard battle, but to go unto the Caſtle of

Dumbartoun, and endeavour by little and little to draw home again unto her obedience the whole Subjects. But the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*, and the reſt of the Lords there convened, finding themſelves in number far beyond the other Party, would needs hazard Battle, thinking thereby to overcome the Regent their great Enemy, and be alſo Maſters of the Queen, to Command and Rule all at their pleaſure. Some alledged that the Biſhop was minded to cauſe the Queen to marry my Lord *Hamiltoun*, in caſe they had obtained the Victory. And I was ſince informed by ſome who were preſent, that the Queen her ſelf feared the ſame, therefore ſhe preſſed them ſtill to convoy her to *Dumbartoun*, and had ſent me word with the *French* Ambaſſadour, the ſame morning before the battel, to draw on a meeting for concord, by the means of the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and the Laird of *Grange*: And for her part ſhe would ſend the Lord *Herris* and ſome other. She had alſo cauſed my Brother Sir *Robert* to write a Letter to me that ſame morning, for that ſame effect, but the Queen's Army came on ſo fiercely, that there was no ſtay.

The Regent went out on foot, and all his Company except the Laird of *Grange*, *Alexander Hume* of *Manderſtoun*, and ſome Borderers to the number of 200. The Laird of *Grange* had already viewed the ground, and with all imaginable diligence cauſed every Horſe-man to take behind him a Foot-man of the Regent's to guard behind them, and rode with ſpeed to the head of the Long'ſid'-hill, and ſet down the ſaid Foot-men with their Culverings at the head of a ſtraight Lane, where there were ſome Cottage-houſes, and Yards of great advantage. Which Soldiers with their continual ſhot, killed divers of the Vaunt-guard, led by the *Hamiltouns*, who couragiouſly and fiercely aſcending up the Hill, were already out of breath when the Regents Vaunt-guard joined with them. Where the worthy Lord *Hume* fought on foot with his Pike in his hand very manfully, well aſſiſted by the Laird of *Cesfoord* his Brother-in-law, who helped him up again when he was ſtrucken to the ground by many ſtroaks upon his face, by the throwing Piſtols at him, after they had been diſcharged. He was alſo wounded with Staves, and had many ſtroaks of Spears through his Legs: for he and *Grange* at the joining, cried to let their adverſaries firſt lay down their Spears, to bear up theirs; which Spears were ſo thick fixed in others *Jacks*, that ſome of the Piſtols and great Staves, that were thrown by them which were behind, might be ſeen lying upon the Spears.

Upon the Queens ſide the Earl of *Arguile* commanded the Battel: and the Lord of *Arbroth* the Vaunt-guard. On the other part the Regent led the Battle, and the Earl of *Mortoun* the Vaunt-gard: But the Regent committed to the Laird of *Grange* the ſpecial care, as being an experimented Captain, to overſee every danger, and to ride to every Wing, to incourage and make help where greateſt need was. He perceived at the firſt joining, the right Wing of the Regent's Vaunt-guard put back, and like to fly, whereof the greateſt part were Commons of the Barony of *Ranthrow*; whereupon he rode to them, and told them that their Enemy was already turning their backs, requeſting them to ſtay and debate, till he ſhould bring them freſh Men forth of the Battel. Whither at full ſpeed he did ride alone, and told

the

the Regent that the Enemy were ſhaken, and flying away behind the little Village, and deſired a few number of freſh Men to go with him. Where he found enough willing, as the Lord *Lindſay*, the Laird of *Lockleven*, *Sir James Balfour*, and all the Regents Servants, who followed him with diligence, and reinforced that Wing which was beginning to fly ; which freſh Men with their looſe Weapons ſtruck the Enemies in their flanks and faces, which forced them incontinent to give place ; and turn back, after long fighting and puſhing others to and fro with their Spears. There were not many Horſe-men to purſue after them, and the Regent cried to ſave and not to kill, and *Grange* was never cruel, ſo that there were but few ſlain and taken. And the only ſlaughter was at the firſt rancounter, by the ſhot of the Soldiers which *Grange* had planted at the Lane-head behind ſome Dikes.

After the loſs of the Battle, her Majeſty loſt all courage, which ſhe had never done before, and took ſo great fear, that ſhe never reſted till ſhe was in *England*, thinking her ſelf ſure of refuge there, in reſpect of the fair promiſes formerly made to her by the Queen of *England* by word to her Ambaſſadours, and by her own hand-writ both before and after ſhe was Captive in *Lockleven*. But God and the World, knows how ſhe was kept and uſed, for not only ſhe refuſed to ſee her, of whom ſhe appeared ſo oft ſo deſirous of a ſight, and a meeting, but alſo cauſed to keep her Priſoner, and at length ſuffered her life to be taken away, or elſe it was ſubtilly taken againſt her intention. This puts me in remembrance of a tale that my Brother Sir *Robert* told me, The time that he was buſieſt dealing betwixt the two Queens to entertain their friendſhip, and draw on their meeting at a place near *York*, One *Baſſintoun* a *Scots-man* who had been a Traveller, and was learned in high Sciences, came to him and ſaid, Good Gentlemen, I hear ſo good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to ſhew you how that all your upright dealing, and honeſt travel will be in vain : For whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at the Queen of *England's* hands, you do but loſe your time and your travel : For firſt they will never meet together, and next there will never be any thing elſe but diſſembling, and ſecret hatred for a while, and at length Captivity and utter wrack to our Queen from *England*. My Brother anſwered, he liked not to hear of ſuch deviliſh news, nor yet would he in any ſort credit them, as being falſe, ungodly, and unlawful for Chriſtians to meddle with. *Baſſintoun* anſwered, good Mr. *Melvil* entertain not that harſh opinion of me. I am a Chriſtian of your own Religion, and fear God, and purpoſeth never to caſt my ſelf on any of the unlawful Arts that you mean, but ſo far as *Melancthon*, who was a godly Theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the natural Sciences which are lawful, and daily read in divers Chriſtian Univerſities, in the which as in all other Arts, God gives to ſome leſs and to othes clearer knowledg, by the which knowledg I have attained to underſtand, that at length the Kingdom of *England* ſhall of right fall to the Crown of *Scotland*, and that at this inſtant there are ſome born who ſhall brook Lands and Heritages in *England*: But, alas, it will coſt many their Lives, and many bloody Battels will be fought e're things be ſettled or take effect, and by my knowledg, ſayes he, the *Spaniards* will be helpers, and will take a part to themſelves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again.

After that the Queens Maieſty had demitted the Government, when ſhe was Captive in *Lockleven* in ſuch manner as is rehearſed, my Lord of *Murray* being the firſt of the Regents of whom I have ſaid ſomething already, I intend now to follow forth, and ſhew a part of his proceedings, and to begin where I left at her Majeſties retreat to *England.*

After the Battle of *Langſide*, the Regent went through the Country, and took up the Eſcheats and Houſes of thoſe who had aſſiſted at the ſaid Battle, and cauſed to caſt down divers of their houſes, diſtributing their Lands to his Servants and dependers.

The Council of *England* being crafty, and in ſpecial the Secretary *Cicil*, they knew what kind of men had moſt credit about him for the time; and thereupon took occaſion to deal with the leaſt honeſt, moſt ambitious and covetous of that number and Society, who had joined and banded themſelves together to aſſiſt each other, whereby to advance themſelves, and to diſgrace all ſuch true and honeſt men as had aſſiſted, and helped him in all his former troubles. This ſort of Men were ſoon perſwaded and corrupted, to move the Regent to paſs unto *England*, and accuſe their native Queen before the Queen and Council of *England*, to the great diſhonour of their Country and Prince. For the Queen of *England* who had no juſt cauſe to retain our Queen, who had fled to *England* in hope of getting ſhelter, and the aſſiſtance which had been ſo oft promiſed her both before and after her Captivity in *Lockleven*, was very deſirous to have ſome colour and pretext whereby ſhe might make anſwer to the Ambaſſadours of ſundry Princes who reproached her for her unkindly and unprincely proceedings therein.

Becauſe the moſt part of thoſe who had the Regent's Ear were gained to this opinion, and the number few who were of a contrary mind he went forward to *England*, accompanied with the Earl of *Mortoun*, the Lord *Lindſay*, the Laird of *Lockleven*, the biſhop of *Orkny*, the Abbot of *Dumfarmling*, *Mr. James Macgil*, *Mr. Henry Balnears*, *Mr. George Buchanan*, the Laird of *Pittarrow*, *George Duglas* Biſhop of *Murray*, Mr. *John Wood* the Regent's Secretary, a great Ring-leader, *Mr. Nicholas Elphinſtoun*, Secretary *Lidingtoun*, *Alexander Hay*, *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick*, the Laird of *Cleeſh*, with divers other Barons, and Gentlemen, who went there to ſee the faſhion, ſome to wait upon the Regent and Lords, and ſome who could not get the Regent diſſwaded from this extream folly at home, went with him to *England* to ſee if by any aſſiſtance of ſuch as were friends there to the Union of the Iſle, and to the Title of *Scotland*, he might be ſtayed from that accuſation. For thoſe who were the Queens Lords, who came there to defend the Queens part, had no credit nor familiarity with the chief faction in *England* concerning the Title, nor durſt open their minds but to ſuch as by long acquaintance they were well aſſured of their honeſty and ſecrecy. The names of the Queens Lords were, the Lord *Herreis*, the Lord *Boid*, the Lord *Fleeming*, the Lord *Livingſtoun*, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and ſome others, with my Brother Sir *Robert* who attended to do all the good he could.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, and ſeveral other Councellors were ſent down to *York*, to hear the Regent's Accuſation, and to be as Judges between the King and Queen's Lords.

The firſt day of meeting, the Duke of *Norfolk* required that the *Regent* ſhould make Homage in the King's Name to the Crown of *England*, thinking he had ſome ground to demand the ſame, ſeeing the ſaid *Regent* there to plead his Cauſe before the Councel of *England*. Whereat the *Regent* grew red, and knew not what to anſwer; but Secretary *Lidingtoun* took up the Speech, and ſaid, *That in reſtoring again to* Scotland *the Lands of* Huntingtuon, Cumberland, *and* Northumberland, *with ſuch other Lands as* Scotland *did of old poſſeſs in* England, *that Homage ſhould gladly be made for the ſaid Lands*; *but as to the Crown and Kingdom of* Scotland, *it was freer than* England *had been lately, when it payed St.* Peter's *Penny to the Poor.*

It appeared ſtill that the *Duke* drave off time with us, as having no inclination to enter upon the terrors of Accuſation. What was in his head, appeared afterward, but he was long in a ſuſpence with whom to deal. For he thought (as he afterward ſaid) he neither did ſee honeſt men nor wiſe men. At laſt he reſolved to enter in Conference with Secretary *Lidingtoun*, to whom he ſaid, *That before that time he had ever eſteem'd him a Wiſe man, until that now he came before Strangers to accuſe the Queen his Miſtreſs, as if* England *were Judge over the Princes of* Scotland. *How could we find in our hearts to diſhonour our Kings Mother, or how could we anſwer afterward for what we were doing, ſeeing it tended to hazard the King her Sons Right to* England, *intending to bring his Mothers honeſty in queſtion? It had been rather the Duty of you his Subjects*, ſayes he, *to cover her Imperfections, if ſhe had any, remitting unto God and Time to puniſh and put Order thereto, who is the Only Judge over Princes. Lidingtoun*, as he might well do, purged himſelf, and declared he came there to endeavour to ſtop the ſaid Accuſation, which the Laird of *Grange*, and divers others, had endeavoured to do in vain, before the *Regent*'s coming out of *Scotland*. And that now he would be glad of any help to hinder that ſhameful deliberation of the *Regents*, puſhed thereto by a company of greedy, raſh, and careleſs Councellors, the moſt part of them his Enviers and ſecret Enemies; praying the *Duke* not to conceive ſuch an Evil Opinion of him, but requeſting him to draw the *Regent* apart, and enter with him upon thoſe Terms which afterward the *Regent* would ſhew him, and he ſhould amplifie and ſet it out the beſt he could. The *Duke* asked *if the Regent would keep ſecret?* and being thereof aſſured by *Lidingtoun*, the next day he took occaſion to enter into diſcourſe with the *Regent*, about their firſt Friendſhip and Familiarity contracted at *Lieth*, during the Siege, and helping to put the *Frenchmen* out of *Scotland*. Then after that the *Regent* had promiſed Secrecy, and aſſured him that their firſt Friendſhip ſhould ſtand till the end of his Life, the *Duke* began to declare, how "that he would be a Faithful Subject to the *Queen* his "Miſtreſs ſo long as ſhe lived; but that ſhe was too careleſs what might "come after her about the well and quiet of her Country: tho it "was the Intereſt of the Kingdom of *England*, more to notice the "ſame, by determining the Succeſſion to prevent Troubles that might "otherwiſe enſue. That tho they had divers times eſſayed to do ſome-

"thing therein at every parliament, but that their *Queen* had thereat "evidenced a great diſcontent, and hindred the ſame, ſhewing thereby "that ſhe cared not what Blood was ſhed after her for the Right and "Title of the Crown of *England*, which conſiſts only in the Perſons "of the Queen and King of *Scotland* her Son; which had been put out "of doubt e're then, if matters had not fallen out ſo unhappily at home, "and yet he and other Noblemen of *England*, as fathers of the Country, were minded to be careful thereof, watching their opportunity. "But that they wondred what could move him to come there and accuſe his *Queen*; for albeit ſhe had done, or ſuffered harm to be done to "the *King* her Husband, yet there was reſpect to be had to the *Prince* "her Son upon whom he and many in *England* had fixed their Eyes, "as Mr. *Melvil*, who had been late Ambaſſadour there could teſtifie. "He therefore wiſhed that the *Queen* ſhould not be accuſed, nor diſhonoured for the King her Sons cauſe, and for reſpect to the Right "they both had to ſucceed to the Crown of *England*. And further the *Duke* ſaid, "I am ſent to hear your Accuſation, but neither will I, nor "the *Queen* my miſtreſs, give out any Sentence upon your Accuſation. And that you may underſtand the verity of this Point more "clearly, you ſhall do well the next time that I require you before "the Councel to give in your Accuſation in Writing; to demand again "my Miſtreſs's Seal and Hand-Writing (before you ſhow your folly) "that in caſe you Accuſe, ſhe ſhall immediately Convict and give out "her Sentence according to your Probation; otherwiſe, that you will "not open your Pack: Which if her Majeſtie ſhall refuſe to grant unto "you, which undoubtedly ſhe will do, then aſſure your ſelf that my "Information is true, and take occaſion hereupon to ſtay from further "accuſation.

The *Regent* took very well with this Advice of the *Dukes*, and kept it ſecret from all his Company ſave Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and me, to whom that ſame Night he imparted it, ſhewing us his inclination to follow the ſame; in which Reſolution we confirmed him. at the next meeting with the Council, when the *Duke* demanded the Accuſation to be given in, the *Regent* asked for his Security the Queen of *Englands* Seal and Hand-Writing, as was before adviſed; of which the reſt of his Faction gave *Lidingtoun* the full blame, becauſe it drew on a delay until the Poſt was ſent to the Court, and returned the Queens anſwer. Being come, it was told that ſhe was *a true Princeſs, her Word and Promiſe would be abundantly ſufficient. The* Secretary *Cicil*, and Mr. *John Wood* Secretary to the *Regent*, thought *ſtrange of this* manner of Procedure, therefore it was adviſed to deſire the Lords on both ſides, to go from *York* toward the Court, that the matter might thereto be treated, where the Queen was able to give more ready Anſwers and Replies.

In the mean time the *Regent* finding the Information the *Duke* of *Norfolk* gave him concerning the Queen of *Englands* Anſwer to be true, he entred further into Communication with him, and in preſence of *Lidingtoun*, it was agreed betwixt them as followeth; That he in no wayes ſhould accuſe the *Queen*; That the *Duke* ſhould obtain to him the Queens Favour with a confirmation of the *Regency*. The Duke and He were to be as ſworn Brothers of one Religion, ſhooting continually at one mark, with the mutual intelligence of one anothers minds, the one to Rule *Scotland*, the other to Rule *England*, to the Glory of God, and well of both the Countries, and their Princes, ſo that Poſterity ſhould report them the happieſt two Inſtruments that ever were bred in *Brittain*.

The *Duke* was then the *greateſt* Subject in *Europe*, not being a free Prince. For he ruled the Queen, and all thoſe who were moſt familiar with her. He alſo ruled the Councel, and ruled two Factions in *England*, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, with the City of *London*, and whole Commons. The Great Men who were Papiſts, were all his near Kinſmen, whom he entertained with great Wiſdom, and Diſcretion; the Proteſtants had ſuch proof of his Godly Life and Converſation, that they loved him intirely.

The *Regent* being arrived at the Court of *England*, which was for the time at *Hampton-Court*, he was daily preſſed to give in his accuſation, eſpecially by thoſe who were about him, when all thought ſtrange that he was ſo ſlow in doing thereof, until they were advertiſed by one of the Lords of the *Queens* Faction, of all that had paſt betwixt the *Regent* and the *Duke* of *Norfolk*. For the Duke by a ſecret hand had advertiſed our *Queen*, and ſhe again ſhewed it to one of her moſt Familiars, who advertiſed the Earl of *Mortoun* thereof. He took this very ill, that the *Regent* had done this without acquainting him, or any of his Society of his deſign. But e're he, or any of his Company, would ſeem to underſtand any thing of the matter, they laid their heads together, and cauſed Mr. *John Wood* to inform Secretary *Cicil* of all that had Paſt, deſiring him to preſs forward the Accuſation, wherein of himſelf he was abundantly earneſt. They again left nothing undone for their part, to effectuate the ſame, putting him in hope that the *Queen* would give him her Hand-Writing and Seal, that ſhe ſhould convict the Queen in caſe he accuſed her. Others of the fineſt of them, perſuaded him that ſhe would never give her hand-Writing or Seal for that end, putting him to a ſtrait to ſee what he would do in caſe he obtained his deſire. Mr. *John Wood* ſaid, *That it was fit to carry in all the Writs to the Councel, and he would keep the Accuſation in his boſom, and would not deliver it till firſt the thing demanded of the Queen was granted. The reſt of the Regents Lords and Councellors* had concluded among them, That ſo ſoon as the *Duke* of *Norfolk* as chief of the Councel would inquire for the Accuſation, they ſhould all with one voice cry and perſuade the *Regent* to go forward with it.

Secretary *Lidingtoun* and I minded the *Regent*, how far he had obliged himſelf to the *Duke* of *Norfolk*. He ſaid, *He would do well enough, and that it would not come to that length.* So ſoon as he with his Counſel were within the Councel-Houſe, the *Duke* of *Norfolk* asked for the Accuſation; the *Regent* deſired again the aſſurance of Conviction by Writing and Seal, as is ſaid. It was anſwered again, *That the Queens Majeſties Word, being a true Princeſs, was ſufficient.* Then all the Councel cryed out, *Would he miſtruſt the Queen, who had given ſuch proof of her friendſhip to Scotland. The Regents* Councel cryed out alſo in that ſame manner. Then Secretary *Cicil* asked if they had the Accuſation there? *Yes,* ſayes Mr. *John Wood*; and with that he plucks it out of his Boſom, *but I will* not *deliver it*, ſays he, *till her Majeſties*

Hand-Writing and Seal be delivered to my Lord Regent *for what he demands.* Then the Biſhop of *Orkny* ſnatcheth the Writing out of his hand, *Let me have it*, ſayes he, *I ſhall preſent it.* Mr. *John Wood* run after him, as if he would have taken it again. Forward goes the Biſhop to the Council-Table, and gives in the Accuſation. Then cryes out the *Chamberlain* of *England, Well done Biſhop, thou art the frankeſt Fellow among them all, none of them will make thy leap good*; ſcorning his leaping out of the Laird of *Grange's* Ship. Mr. *Henry Balneavs* only had made reſiſtance, and called for Secretary *Lidingtoun*, who waited without the Councel Houſe. But ſo ſoon as Mr. *Henry Balneavs* had called for him, he came in and whiſpered in the *Regent's* Ear, *That he had ſhamed himſelf, and put his Life in danger, by the loſs of ſo good a Friend as the* Duke *of* Norfolk, *and that he had loſt his Reputation for ever.*

The *Regent*, who by his facility had been brought to break with the *Duke* of *Norfolk*, repented himſelf thereof, ſo ſoon as *Lidingtoun* acquainted him with the danger, and deſired the Accuſation to be rendred up to him again, alledging he had *ſome more to add thereto.* They anſwered, *They would hold what they had, and were ready to receive any addition when he ſhould pleaſe to give it in.* The *Duke* of *Norfolk* had much ado to keep his Countenance. Mr. *John Wood* winked upon Secretary *Cicil*, Who ſmiled again upon him. The reſt of the *Regent's* Company were laughing one upon another only Secretary *Lidingtoun* had a ſad heart. The Regent came forth of the Council-Houſe with Tears in his eyes, and went to his Lodging at *Kingſtoun*, where his factious friends had much ado to comfort him.

The Queen of *England* having obtained her intent, received thereby great contentment through the advantage ſhe thereby received. Firſt, ſhe thought ſhe had matter for her, to ſhew wherefore ſhe detained the Queen, when ſhe was challenged by the forreign Ambaſſadours upon that accompt. Then ſhe was glad of the Queens diſhonour, but in her mind ſhe deteſted the Regent, and all his Company, and would notice him no more. She ſent alſo incontinent to the Queen to comfort her, praying her to look on her ſelf in a better caſe, albeit for a while reſtrained of her liberty, then to be in *Scotland*, among ſo unworthy Subjects, who had accuſed her falſly and wrongfully, as ſhe was aſſured ; and that neither ſhould they be the better, nor ſhe the worſe for any thing they had done: For ſhe would neither be Judge, nor give out any Sentence thereupon, nor ſhould any part of the ſaid falſe Accuſation be made known by her, or her Council to any, praying her to take patience in her gentle Ward, where ſhe was nearer to get the Crown of *England* ſet upon her head, in caſe of her deceaſe, who was but the eldeſt Siſter.

Thus the *Regent* won no other thing for his labour, but to be deſpiſed by the Queen and Council of *England*, deteſted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and reproached by his beſt and trueſt friends, ſuffered to lye a long time at *Kingſtoun*, in great diſpleaſure and fear, without Mony to ſpend, and without hope to get any from the Queen. In the mean time, the agreement betwixt him and the Duke of *Norfolk*, was told the Queen. For the Earl of *Mortoun* cauſed a Miniſter called *John Willock*, to declare what had paſt betwixt the Regent and the Duke of

Norfolk to the Earl of *Huntingtoun*, who cauſed my Lord of *Leiceſter* to tell it to the Queen.

The Duke of *Norfolk* finding himſelf diſappointed by the Regent, and his purpoſes diſcovered to the Queen, began to boaſt and ſpeak plain Language, *That he would ſerve and honour the Queen his Miſtreſs ſo long as ſhe lived, but after her deceaſe he would ſet the Crown of* England *upon the Queen of* Scotland'*s head, as lawful Heir.* And this he avowed to Secretary *Cecil*, deſiring him to go and prattle that language again to the Queen. The Secretary *Cecil* anſwered, *That he would be no Tale-teller to the Queen of him, but would concur with him in any courſe, and ſerve him in any thing wherein he would imploy him.* He threatned alſo Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who he ſuppoſed would be a true and devoted Servant to the Queen: So that Sir *Nicholas* was neceſſitated to ſeek after his favour by the means of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leiceſter*, who was alſo his friend, albeit he durſt not conceal from the Queen that whereof the Earl of *Huntingtoun* had advertiſed him, ſeeing he had deſired him to declare the ſame to her Majeſty.

The Duke of *Norfolk* underſtanding that his whole purpoſes were diſcovered, ſtood not to acknowledge to the Queen, *That during her life-time he would never offend her, but ſerve and honour her, and after her the Queen of* Scotland, *as in his opinion trueſt Heir, and the only means for eſchewing of Civil Wars, and great blood-ſhed that might otherwiſe fall out.* Now albeit the Queen of *England* liked not that language, yet ſhe would not appear to find fault with it for the time.

Now matters being caſt looſe in this manner between the Regent and the Duke, and the Regent in great diſtreſs; Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* being a Man of a deep reach, and great prudence and diſcretion, who had ever travelled for the Union of this Iſle, after that he was agreed with the Duke, and perceived that the Earls of *Leiceſter, Pembroke*, Secretary *Cecil*, and the reſt of the Court and Commons were all for the Duke, and that the Queen durſt not find fault with him, he deviſed and effectuated a new friendſhip betwixt the Regent and the Duke, who was unwilling again to enter with the Regent, yet at length he ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded. The Lord Regent, on the other hand, being deſtitute of all friendſhip in *England* for the time, and indigent of mony, thought he would be very fortunate if again he could obtain the Dukes friendſhip and pardon, ſo he was brought eaſily and ſecretly unto the Duke by Sir *Nicholas.* At which time he granted his offence, excuſing himſelf the beſt he could, by the craft and importunity of ſome of his Company. The Duke helped him to frame his excuſe, alledging, *That he knew how his gentle nature was abuſed by the craft and concurrence of ſome of the Council of* England, *who had joined with ſome about him. That if he would for the future keep touch and be ſecret, they ſhould take acourſe with all thoſe who had drawn on that draught.* The Regent promiſed as far as could be deviſed, ſo that a gaeater friendſhip was packed up between them then ever. The Duke had before told him, “ That he was reſolved to marry the
“ Queen our Miſtreſs, and that he ſhould never permit her to come
“ to *Scotland*, nor yet that he ſhould ever Rebell againſt the Queen of
“ *England*, during her time. Alſo that he had a Daughter, who would

“ be better for the King, then any other for many Reaſons. Now the Duke took in hand to cauſe the Queen his Miſtreſs to give unto my Lord Regent Two thouſand pound ſterling, for the which Sum he became Cautioner, and was afterward compelled to pay it.

After that the Regent had got this mony, and had taken his leave of the Queen, he was adviſed by ſuch as had great credit about him, to tell the Queen all things that had paſt again betwixt the Duke and him. And to do it the more covertly, it was deviſed, That the Queen of *England* ſhould ſend for him, pretending to give him ſome admonition about ſome order to be obſerved upon the Border. This being done, and all things diſcovered to the Queen, with a promiſe ſo ſoon as he came to *Scotland*, and had received any Letters from the Duke, by Cyphers or otherwiſe, he ſhould ſend them to *England* by an Expreſs. In the mean time the Duke wrote unto our Queen, advertiſing her again of the new friendſhip between him and the Regent, who was become very penitent, and had been formerly deceived by craftier men then himſelf, deſiring her to let him paſs by without any harm done to him, or any in his company by the way.

At that time the Duke commanded over all the North parts of *England*, where the Queen our Miſtreſs was kept, and ſo might have taken her out when he pleaſed. And when he was angry at the Regent, he had appointed the Earl of *Weſtmorland* to lye in his way and cut off himſelf, and ſo many of his company, as were moſt bent upon the Queens Accuſation. But after the laſt agreement, the Duke ſent and diſcharged the ſaid Earl from doing us any harm, yet upon our return the Earl came in our way with a great Company of Horſe, to ſignifie to us that we were at his mercy.

After the Regents ſafe return to *Scotland*, Mr. *John Wood* his Secretary procured, upon the firſt occaſion, to be ſent to *England*, with all the Letters that had been ſent from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which could tend to undo him. He deſired Mr. *Henry Balneavs* to cauſe the Regent to give him the Biſhoprick of *Murray*, void for the time, though he pretended it was neither for ambition nor covetouſneſs of the Rents, but that he might have an honourable Style, to ſet out the better his Ambaſſage. The ſaid Mr. *Henry* being indeed ſuch a man as Mr. *John* would appeared to have been, was very angry, and never liked him after that my Lord *Lindſay* vented himſelf, That he was one of the number who gave the Regent counſel ſo to do, alledging, that ſuch promiſes as were made to the Duke of *Norfolk* for fear of life, ought not to be kept.

A little after that Mr. *John* was come back to *Scotland*, well rewarded for his pains, the Duke was ſent for by the Queen to come to Court. Whereupon firſt he poſted in haſte to Secretary *Cicil* to demand his counſel, for he repoſed much upon him, they being joined in one courſe. The other made anſwer, *That there was no danger, he might come and go at his Pleaſure, no man would or durſt offend him.* Which made the Duke ride up quietly, only with his own train, whereas otherwiſe he would have been well accompanied. In the mean time, Secretary *Cicil* informed the Queen, *That the neceſſity of the time obliged her not to omit this occaſion, but to take the matter ſtoutly upon her ſelf, and incontinent command her Guard to lay hands upon the Duke,* *or elſe no other durſt do it, which if ſhe did not at this time, her Crown would be in peril.* The Queen following this counſel, the Duke was taken and ſecured, when he thought all *England* was at his Devotion, who after long Captivity was Executed, ending his Life devoutly in the Reformed Religion.

Shortly after *Mr. John Wood's* returning out of *England*, there was a great Convention held at *Pearth*, where the Regent was reſolved to accuſe Secretary *Lidingtoun*, as being of Council with the Duke of *Norfolk*, but he had ſo many friends for the time, that they durſt not lay hands on him, albeit from that hour forth, he retired from the Court, and remained with the Earl of *Athol*, where the Regent entertained him with friendly Letters. And upon a time being at *Sterling*, he wrote for him to come and make a diſpatch for *England*, whither being come, Captain *Crauford* was directed to accuſe him before the Privy Council of the late King's murther, and being accuſed of ſo odious a Crime, he was committed to Ward. Sir *James Balfour* was alſo taken out of his own Houſe, when he expected no ſuch thing.

Then My Lord of *Doun* wrote to the *Laird* of *Grange* to be upon his guard; for the *Regent* was reſolved to take the *Caſtle* of *Edenbrugh* from him, and make the *Laird* of *Drumwhaſel* Captain thereof. Which advertiſement he had formerly given to *Grange*, as alſo of the deſign to take the *Secretary*, and Sir *James Balfour*. But at the firſt he would not give credit thereto, but now when he did ſee the Advertiſement take effect, he began to think that the *Regent* was ſtrangely miſled, he would have been ſatisfied to have wanted the Caſtle, and to have left the Court, were it not for the deſire he had to ſave the Lives of *Secretary Lidingtoun*, and Sir *James Balfour*, having upon his Honour engaged to protect the ſaid Sir *James* upon his rendring up the Caſtle to him. He knew they were wrongfully purſued, only by the Malice and Envy of their Enemies for their offices. Sir *James Balfour* being taken, ſent unto the *Laird* of *Grange*, minding him how he had joyned with the *Lords* and *Regent* upon the Truſt he repoſed on his Fidelity, more than on all their Seals and Hand-writings which he had to produce. Whereupon the *Laird* of *Grange* ſent a Gentleman to the *Regent*, but the *Regent* purged himſelf, and alledged the Council were ſo banded together againſt the *Secretary*, and Sir *James Balfour*, *That it conſiſted not in his power to preſerve them from Priſon, ſeeing they were accuſed for the King's Murther againſt his will, but* Grange *ſhould know his honeſt part thereof at meeting; praying him in the mean time to ſuſpend his judgment.* Nevertheleſs the *Regent* and his Council were determined to proceed to proceſs the two Priſoners upon their Lives, till *Grange* ſent again and deſired the like Juſtice to be done upon the *Earl* of *Mortoun* and Mr. *Archibald Douglas*. For he offered to fight with Mr. *Archibald*, and the *Lord Herries* with the *Earl* of *Mortoun* upon that head; *That they were upon the Councel, and conſequently airt and* pairt *of the King's Murther.* This ſtayed their Proceſs at that time. And the *Regent* ſtill alledged, That the Lords had taken them againſt his will, and that he ſhould ſend Sir *James Balfour* to the Caſtle of *St. Andrews*, and ſhould bring Secretary *Lidingtoun* to *Edinbrugh*, and deliver him unto the *Laird* of *Grange* to be kept. So the *Regent* came to *Edinbrugh*, and brought the Secretary with him, intending, as *Grange* was informed, to make the Secretary an Inſtrument to draw *Grange* out of the Caſtle to the Town the next morning to receive the *Secretary* to be carried up to the Caſtle; and then to retain *Grange* alſo till the Caſtle ſhould be delivered unto the *Laird* of *Drumwhaſel* to be Keeper thereof, and to ſend *Grange* home to his Houſe and reward him with the Priory of *Pittenweem*. But the *Earl* of *Mortoun* had appointed four men to ſlay *Grange* at the entry of the *Regent*'s Lodging, without the *Regent*'s knowledg. But *Grange* was loath yet to believe the worſt of the *Regent*, and being of opinion that the *Regent*'s gentle Nature was forced by the Lords, as he had ſent him word, underſtanding that they intended to carry the Secretary to *Tantalloun*, he came down out of the Caſtle with a Company, and took the *Secretary* out of the hands of his *Keepers*, and convoyed him up to the Caſtle. For he thought if it were true that the *Regent* ſaid, That he was forced by the Lords againſt his will to let the *Secretary* be retained after that he was accuſed, the *Regent* would be glad that he had revenged his quarrel upon the Lords, by taking the Secretary out of their hands, whereof he might juſtly pretend ignorance. And if the *Regent* would be diſſatisfied with his carriage therein, it would be a certain token of his diſſimulation. In that caſe *Grange* thought he did a good deed to ſave his Friends Life, and ſo he would have good ground to believe divers Intelligences which formerly he would not credit, and therefore he would be upon his guard in Time coming.

The *Regent* and his Councellors when they underſtood that *Grange* had taken the Secretary to the Caſtle, were in great perplexity, ſuppoſing all their Counſels to be diſcloſed. They knew not how to help the matter, but they adviſed the *Regent* to cover his anger until a fit opportunity, cauſing him to go up to the Caſtle the next morning. For he durſt truſt *Grange*, tho *Grange* would no more truſt him. At meeting the Regent gave him more fair words than he was wont to do, which *Grange* took in evil part.

After this there were many devices how to intrap *Grange*, ſometime in his down-coming to the *Regent*; but he was ever advertiſed and upon his guard, ſo as the *Regent* loſt dayly of his beſt Friends, and the number of his Enemies increaſed. For the Duke of *Chattellerault* (who was agreed with him by the interceſſion of the *Lord Herreis*) when the ſaid *Duke* and the *Lord Herreis* came to *Edinbrugh*, as was appointed at the agreement, to concur with the *Regent* in Councel and otherwiſe for the quieting of the Country, they were both warded in the Caſtle, againſt promiſe. Which when the Laird of *Grange* found fault with, Mr. *John Wood* ſaid, *I marvel at you that you will be offended at this; for how ſhall we who are my Lords dependers, get Rewards, but by the wrack of ſuch men. Yea*, ſaid *Grange is that your holineſs, I ſee nothing among you but Envy, Greedineſs, and Ambition; whereby you will wrack a good* Regent, *and ruine the Country.* This was long before the taking of the Secretary, and increaſed the hatred of a wicked Society againſt *Grange*, who upon all occaſions evidenced his deteſting their ſelfiſh Deſigns, who were dependers upon the *Regent*; which was one of the faults alſo they had againſt the *Secretary*, as alſo becauſe his Wit ſo far excelled theirs. The Captivity of the *Duke* and my *Lord Herreis*, made many Enemies to the *Regent*, who took the greater boldneſs to conſpire againſt him, when they perceived him to loſe and caſt off his beſt Friends.

It was a grievous thing, to ſee that good *Regent,* of himſelf ſo well inclined to do good offices in Religion and Commonwealth, ſo led after other mens vain pretences, and affections, to his own wrack, to the wrack of many worthy Perſons, and to their ruine at length who led him in theſe wayes.

He grew to give great ear to Flatterers, and would not ſuffer his true Friends to tell him the verity. The obſervation hereof, made many conjecture that his Ruine was at hand; and I among others deviſed a preſent remedy for his preſervation, which was this:

I knew that the taking *Lidingtoun* to the Caſtle, ſunk deepeſt in the *Regent's* heart; and that the falſe practiſes and wrackful fetches of ſuch as had taught him to diſſemble, moved *Grange,* who had been his greateſt Friend, to be jealous of him; the noticing whereof gave ground to his Enemies to conſpire againſt him.

Firſt, I requeſted the *Regent* to remember the falſe Practiſes, that ſome about him had ſundry times uſed formerly to his great diſpleaſure, and to conſider that they occaſioned all the jealouſies and ſuſpitions that were fallen out between him and his Friends, which might encourage his Enemies to take ſome wicked enterpriſe in hand againſt his Perſon. To remedy this, I propoſed it as fit, That *Lidingtoun* ſhould go unto *France,* finding Caution not to return to *Scotland* under the penalty of Twenty thouſand pounds, and withal giving his Son in pledg for further Security, and that he ſhould practiſe nothing againſt the Quiet of the Country. And that Sir *James Balfour* ſhould be ſet at liberty or baniſhed after that ſame manner. For he had already won the *Regent's* Familiars with great Sums of Gold, which had ſtanched their wrath againſt him; which *Lidingtoun* would not do, albeit Sir *James* had ſent him his advice to do as he had done. Theſe two being freed and out of the way, The Laird of *Grange* ſhould deliver to him the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh,* to make Captain thereof whom he pleaſed. That ſo the whole Country might ſee, that all was in his power, and at his command. This I thought the beſt way to reduce again the opinion of the People, and to ſcare all his Enemies from their deſperate enterpriſes. His anſwer was, *That he did bear no ill will to* Lidingtoun, *that he would not preſs him to go out of the Country; as for Sir* James Balfour, *he would ſet him at liberty; and for* Grange, *he had too many Obligations to him, and too great proofs of his Fidelity to miſtruſt him; That he was never minded to take the Caſtle from him; and if it were out of his hands, he would give him the Keeping thereof before any other.*

He denyed that he had any ſuſpition either of *Grange,* or the *Secretary,* and thereupon went up to the Caſtle and conferred Friendly with them of all his Affairs, with a merry Countenance, and caſting in many merry purpoſes, minding them of many ſtraits and dangers they had formerly been together engaged in. So far was he inſtructed to diſſemble: yet the violence he did himſelf herein was eaſily perceived by ſuch, who had been long acquainted with him, and had been his chief adviſers under God. The *Secretary* by his Wiſdom, and *Grange* by his Valour and Fidelity, who had both ſuch notable Qualities as procured them the Envy of wicked men, who by their continual Flattery and falſe Reports put them out of his Favour, and then like a weak Houſe wanting his ſuſtaining Pillars, he fell.

Himſelf was at the firſt of a gentle Nature, well inclined, good, wiſe, ſtout. In his firſt upriſing, his hap was to light upon the beſt ſort of Company; his beginning was full of adverſity, true honeſt men ſtuck by him, becauſe he was Religiouſly educated, and devoutly inclined. But when he became *Regent*, Flatterers for their profit drew near him, and puft him up into too good an opinion of himſelf. His old true Friends, who would reprove and admoniſh him, thereby loſt his Favour. I would ſometimes ſay to him, *That he was like an unskilful Player in a Tennis Court, running ever after the Ball; whereas an expert Player will diſcern where the Ball will light, or where it will rebound, and with ſmall travel will let it fall on his hand, or racket.* This I ſaid, becauſe he took very great pains in his own Perſon to ſmall effect. After that he had gotten divers advertiſements of his Enemies Conſpiracies, yet he would credit nothing, but what came from his own Familiars, who told him nothing but of fair weather, and of the beſt Government that could be, and ſo rendred him careleſs and ſecure, which encouraged the Good man of *Bodwelhaugh* called *Hamiltoun*, to lye in his way as he was paſſing thorow *Lithgow*, who ſhot him, whereof he dyed that ſame Night; all his Councellors and Familiars, were alſo well advertiſed as he was, both of the man, the place, and the time, and yet were ſo careleſs of him, that they would not be at the pains to ſearch the houſe where the man lay to ſhoot him, but ſuffered him to eſcape upon a ſpeedy Horſe. I have written thus far of him, becauſe every one knows not the verity how he was led away; and becauſe St. *Auguſtine* ſayes, *That all kind of Ignorance is neither worthy of pardon nor excuſe, but only ſuch as have not the means to be inſtructed, nor to get knowledg.* I was ſometimes compelled to recite divers Sentences of *Solomon* to this Good *Regent*; for ſo he was, and will ever deſervedly be called: How that *an heavy Yoke was ordained for the Sons of* Adam, *from the day they go out of their Mothers Womb, till the day that they return to the Mother of all things; from him who is clothed in Blew Silk and weareth a Crown, even to him who weareth ſimple Linnen; wrath, envy, trouble and unquietneſs, rigor, ſtrife, and fear of death in the time of reſt.* Again, *Be diligent to know the ſtate of thy Flock; for there are ſome who ſee but with other mens eyes, who hear but with other mens ears, theſe muſt needs be ignorant; ſuch a man is commonly made a wicked Inſtrument to fulfil the appetites of envious, vengeable and greedy Councellors.* And *Solomon* ſayes, *That for the tranſgreſſion of ſuch wicked Councellors, the Land changeth many Princes.* And again, *The Prudent man ſeeth the Plague and eſchews it; but Fools go on ſtill and are puniſhed. Wiſdome, Knowledg and Underſtanding of the Law is of the Lord; Error, Ignorance and Darkneſs are appointed unto Sinners for Puniſhments and Plagues. The fooliſh will believe every thing, and the mouths of fools are fed with fooliſhneſs.* So the Prudent will conſider his paths, and can perceive that ſome are Councellors for themſelves: Therefore ſayes *Solomon, I Wiſdome dwell with Prudence*, and can find forth the right knowledg of Councellors; as if he would ſay, Who have Wiſdome purified with Prudence, will not be ſo eaſily carried away with Flatterers, as a number of facil Princes, who promote them above faithful Friends and true

Servants, who reprove them for thei unſeemly proceedings. Againſt the Rule of *Iſocrates*, who admoniſheth the King to love and retain as his trueſt Friends, ſuch as lovingly and modeſtly will correct his Faults. And as *Plutarch* ſaith unto *Trajan*, *Follow the Counſel of theſe who loves thee, rather than of thoſe whom thou loveſt.* And as *Thepompus* being demanded *how a Prince ſhould beſt Rule?* anſwered, *In permitting his beſt Servants to tell him the verity of his Eſtate.* As the King of the People is, ſo are his Officers. If the Officers be wicked, ſo is the Ruler thought to be. *How are Flatterers,* ſaid I to the *Regent*, *flown away with your wonted humility, and who hath puft you up, ſo that you will not ſuffer a Friendly Reproof?* Says not *Solomon*, *If thou ſeeſt a man wiſe in his own conceit, there is more hope to be had of a fool than of him? Exalt not thy ſelf in the day of honour, for pride goeth before deſtruction, and an high mind before a fall. Yet hear Counſel, and receive Inſtruction, let Reaſon go before every enterpriſe, and councel before every action. When you follwed the Counſel of your old experimented Friends, your Affairs proſpered. Since you left them, to follow the flattering fetches of your wonted Foes, (who are now become your chiefeſt Councellors ſince you have been made Regent) your Credit decayes, and all your buſineſs goes back. I did ſhew you lately coming from* Dumfries, *in what Danger your Eſtate and Perſon were; to which you have taken little notice; which Danger appears to me to be ever the longer the greater, without ſpeedy repentance, and the haſty imbracing of ſuch Remedies as I mentioned for the time. Therefore take this better to heart, and in good part of his hand of whoſe Fidelity to you, you have had ſo good proof in all your adverſities.* Solomon *ſayes more,* Receive Inſtruction, that thou mayſt be wiſe in thy latter end; *And above all this, pray to the Moſt High, that he may direct thy way in truth, which I pray God grant you the grace to do.*

The moſt part of theſe Sentences drawn out of the Bible, I uſed to rehearſe to him at ſeveral occaſions, and he took better with theſe of my hands, who he knew had no by-end, then if they had proceeded from the moſt Learned Philoſopher. Therefore at his deſire I promiſed to put them in writing, to give him them to keep in his Pocket; but he was Slain before I could meet with him.

After the Deceaſe of the *Regent*, *England* ſent the *Earl* of *Suſſex* to *Berwick*, whither the Earl of *Lennox* came alſo at that ſame time, as being ſent for by the Lords of the King's Faction, to be made *Regent* in place of the Earl of *Murray*. The Earl of *Suſſex* had with him the Forces of the *North*, as if he had ſome enterpriſe to do, and to take ſome advantage at this time, when the Country wanted a *Regent*.

About that ſame time, ſo many of the Lords as were banded, and profeſſed the *Queens* Authority, cauſed to proclaim the ſame at *Lithgow*. As yet they of the Caſtle at *Edinbrugh* profeſſed the *King's* Authority, albeit there were ſecret jealouſies betwixt them and ſo many of the reſt as had counſelled the late *Regent* to apprehend the *Secretary Lidingtoun*, and Sir *James Balfour*, and who would alſo have ruined *Grange*, becauſe he appeared concerned in them two, and alſo becauſe his Vertues were envied, and his Charge coveted by others.

They who were within the ſaid Caſtle for the time, were my Lord Duke of *Chattelerault*, and my Lord *Herris*, warded wrongfully as I have ſaid, therefore the Laird of *Grange* obteined a Warrant from the reſt of the King's Lords to ſet them at liberty. The Lord *Hume* was there to aſſiſt with thoſe of the Caſtle, with the Laird of *Grange*, the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, his Brother the Prior of *Condingham*, three of my Brothers Sir *Robert*, Captain *David*, and Sir *Andrew Melvil*, the Lairds of *Drylow* and *Pittadrow*, Sir *James Balfour*, the Lairds of *Fernihaſt*, *Buccleugh*, *Wormiſtoun*, *Parbroth*, and divers other Noblemen and Barons, who came there at all occaſions, and were ready at a call when they had to do.

This Company directed me to *Berwick*, toward the Earl of *Suſſex*, to know what he intended to do with his Forces; whether to aſſiſt any of the two Factions, or to agree them? I was friendly received by him, well lodged, and my expences by him defrayed, wanting nothing. He ſent me his own night-Gown, furred with rich furrings, to make uſe of ſo long as I abode there. Albeit I knew him to be a great Enemy to all *Scots-men*, he appeared deſirous to enter in great familiarity with me, and as if he was deſirous I ſhould believe he had communicated to me his moſt ſecret thoughts, alledging his plainneſs to me, was upon the report he had heard by ſundry of his Country men to my advantage. He ſaid, " That his coming with his Forces, was not to " aſſiſt any faction, nor to decide Queſtions and Titles that were among " us, but to ſerve the Queen his Miſtreſs, in obeying her Commands: " That if he did any enterpriſe at that time againſt any *Scots-man*, it " would be againſt his heart. That of all *Scots-men*, he liked beſt of " thoſe who were within the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, and their depen- " ders, eſpecially becauſe he knew them to have been friends to the " Duke of *Norfolk*, his near Couſin, whoſe part he ſaid he would plain- " ly have taken, if the ſaid Duke had out of his own mouth communi- " cated his enterpriſe to him, as he had fooliſhly done by a Gentleman " of his, to whoſe credit he durſt not commit the ſecrecy of that mat- " ter, being of it ſelf of ſo great concernment, as ſtood him upon his " life and heritage. And that albeit he with his Forces came not to " ſet out, nor to fortifie any Faction in *Scotland*, yet he durſt be plain " with me privately, as with a true friend, to declare that he did eſteem " the Queen of *Scotland* and the Prince her Son righteous Heirs to the " Crown of *England*, which his judgment he had ſhown to few of his " own Country-men.

So I returned with no direct anſwer, but with a firm opinion, that he was ſent to appear to ſet forward the Earl of *Lennox* to be Regent, and to ſend word to the Lords of the King's ſide, that he would aſſiſt them, and ſend in Mr. *Randolph* thither with the Earl of *Lennox*; and yet to deal with the Lords of the Queens Faction, to encourage them to hold forward their factious courſe, becauſe the ſaid Mr. *Randolph* had a great dealing with the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*, as he who convoyed the Earl of *Arran*, now viſited with the hand of God, out of *France* through *England* home to *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Congregation. He knew alſo what old and long hatred had been betwixt the Houſes of *Lennox* and *Hamiltoun*; and was deliberately directed, ſecretly to kindle a fire of diſcord betwixt two ſtrong Factions in *Scotland*, which could not be eaſily quenched, and to conform the Lord *Hume*, who was not yet reſolved to take part with the Queens Faction, which *England* thought had not money enough yet to ſuſtain long ſtrife againſt the King's Faction.

The Earl of *Suſſex* entred the *Merſe* with his Forces, and took the Caſtle of *Hume*, and *Falhaſtle*, full of riches and precious moveables, that way moving the Lord *Hume* to take plain part with the *Hamiltouns*, and the Queens Faction. Whereby it may be ſeen, that the concluſion was to hold Countries in diſcord, by the craft of the Council of *England* for the time, as I have before mentioned; and which was now put in practice, incontinent after the deceaſe of the Earl of *Murray*. For albeit the Earl of *Lennox* had his Lady, Children, and Eſtate in *England*, they would not credit him, ſuppoſing he would be a true *Scots-man*, as he proved indeed afterwards.

I being in *Berwick*, when the Earl of *Lennox* was ſo far toward *Scotland* to be Regent, I thought it my duty to viſit him. For at his firſt in-coming before the marriage of his Son the Lord *Darnly* with the Queen, he ſent this preſent Colonel *Stuart* for my Brother Sir *Robert* and me, and becauſe my Brother was abſent, I went to him alone. At which time he told me, “That his long abſence out of the Country “had made him as a ſtranger to the condition of the Country, and “that his Lady at his parting from her, had deſired him to take my “Brother's counſel and mine in all his affairs, as her Friends and Kinſ-“men. So that being familiar enough with him formerly, I viſited him at this time, and told him the ſtate of the Country. I diſſwaded him from taking upon him the Regiment, fearing that it might coſt him his life, as matters were like to be handled, as I ſhould inform him more at length, being once at home. As for my ſelf, I promiſed to ſerve and aſſiſt him, albeit I could not find that ſame reſolution in thoſe of the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*. He thanked me, promiſing me to be my friend, ſo far as lay in his power, upon which he gave me his hand. Then he inquired, *What was the Cauſe, that thoſe who were in the Caſtle would oppoſe him*? I anſwered, *For no particular prejudice they had againſt himſelf, but becauſe the Lords who had ſent for him, without acquainting them therewith were not their friends, and they ſuſpected that in proceſs of time, they would move him to be their Enemy.* He ſaid, *That the Laird of* Grange *had been always his great friend, and had done him formerly great kindneſs.* I ſaid, *I hoped he ſhould yet be his friend, after that he had ſetled himſelf in the Regiment, and might have time to be rightly informed of every mans part.*

Returning back from *Berwick*, I met the Abbot of *Dumfarmling*, ſent by the King's Lords to *England*, to meet with the Earl of *Linnox* in his paſſing by. His chief Commiſſion was (ſo far as I could afterward inform my ſelf) to deſire the Queen of *England*, to deliver the Queen of *Scotland* to be kept by the King's Lords here at home, ſeeing that ſhe would not proceed otherwiſe, according to the Accuſation given in againſt her, the time my Lord *Murray* was there. Whereto the Queen of *England* made anſwer, *If they would find her ſufficient Pledges for the ſecurity of the Queens life, ſhe would deliver her to be kept by them.* The Abbot alledged, *That would be hard to do, for what in caſe the Queen dye in the mean time?* She anſwered, *My Lord, I believed* *you had been a wiſe man, you would preſs me to ſpeak what is no ways neceſſary : you may know, That I cannot but for my honour require Pledges for that end, I think you may judge alſo of your ſelf what might be beſt for me.* Her meaning in this, might be eaſily judged and underſtood.

The Earl of *Lennox* came to *Edinbrugh* ſhortly after me, and after he had accepted the Government, his firſt enterpriſe was to take *Breechin,* which was kept by ſome Companies of Foot men, lifted by the Earl of *Huntly* to aſſiſt the Queens faction. Theſe Soldiers being advertiſed, that the new Regent was coming to purſue them, fled, except a few who kept the Kirk and Steeple, who were all hanged. I had made my ſelf ready to ride with the Regent, but Mr. *Randolph* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, who came with the Earl of *Lennox,* appearing to ſet him forward with his power, hindred me from proſecuting that intention, fearing that I would be an inſtrument of perſwading the Laird of *Grange,* and thoſe in the Caſtle, to come to an amicable agreement with the Regent. For if thoſe of the Caſtle, and their dependers had aſſiſted the Regent, the Queens faction were ſo few and weak, that they would not have been able to make a party anſwerable to the King's faction, who were greateſt in number, and had the hearts of the Subjects on their ſide. I was very loath to ſtay behind the Regent, both becauſe I had promiſed to aſſiſt him, and alſo becauſe I had obtained a promiſe of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews,* of the Lands of *Lethem,* given by the Earl of *Murray* to Mr. *Henry Balneavs,* whereof I had no Leaſe, but Poſſeſsion, by reaſon that the Biſhop was for the time in *Dumbartoun,* forfaulted, ſo the ſaid Lands were in the Regent's power to diſpoſe to any other, yet he had promiſed that I ſhould enjoy it. I told Mr. *Randolph* that the ſaid Land might be in danger to be diſpoſed, in caſe I were abſent from the Regent. Tuſh, ſays he, *I am Tutour at this time to the Regent, I ſhall not onely warrant you that, but ſhall cauſe you get a better gift.* In the mean time, he promiſed to write a Letter unto the Regent (who had already taken journey) to ſecure the ſame to me, and to let him know that he had ſtayed me, to draw on an agreement between my friends in the Caſtle and him, therefore deſiring him not to diſpoſe the ſaid Lands to any other. But though I knew him to be a double dealer, and a ſower of diſcord, yet I could not believe that he would abuſe me in any thing, having received ſo great obligations from me during his baniſhment in *France,* for Religion, during the Reign of Queen *Mary.* Neither would I blot Paper with this much concerning my particular, were it not to declare the ſtrange practiſes of Princes in matters of State. Now at Mr. *Randolph*'s deſire, I ſtayed. His firſt propoſition to me, was to deſire the Captain of the Caſtle to agree with, and aſſiſt the Regent. I told him, *That I ſuppoſed he might be brought to that through time, but not ſo haſtily.* And that ſame anſwer I brought to him from him, with a requeſt from the Laird of *Grange,* That he would be plain with him : for there had been alſo great friendſhip betwixt them in *France.* After ſome Ceremonies and Proteſtations of Secrecy, he ſaid, "Tell "your friend this from Mr. *Randolph,* but not from the *Engliſh* Am-"baſſadour, That there is no lawful Authority in *Scotland* but the "Queens, ſhe will prevail at length, and therefore it is his intereſt, as

"the

"the ſafeſt courſe, to join himſelf to her Faction. This was the help he made to the Regent, who believed that his only Ambaſſage was to advance his Authority. I appeared to be very well ſatisfied with this wholeſom advice, and went up to the Caſtle, and told the Captain and his aſſociates no more then I aſſured them of, at my return from *Berwick.*

The Laird of *Grange* was ſtill reſolved to own the King's Authority, ſeeing to be factious under pretext of owning the Queen, during her abſence and captivity, might do her more ill then good, and occaſion great bloodſhed among the Subjects, by the malice of the Ring-leaders of the Court of *England*, and partialities of a few in *Scotland*; and was therefore expecting a fit opportunity of making agreement betwixt the parties. In the mean time, I went up and down betwixt thoſe of the Caſtle, and Mr. *Randolph*, who gave me another Commiſſion, to wit, In caſe the two Queens of *England* and *Scotland* agree betwixt themſelves, to appoint an *Engliſh-man* Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, and ſend unto him a Letter ſubſcribed by both their hands to him, to render up the ſame to him whom they Commiſſionate him to deliver it, whether he would for great advantage to himſelf give it to the perſon who ſhould be appointed. This in great anger he refuſed to hear: and this was all the good agreement that Mr. *Randolph* and I made during the Regent's abſence. And inſtead of minding the Regent not to diſpoſe the foreſaid Lands, he dealt with the Tutor of *Pitcur*, that he might ſeek a gift of the ſaid Lands from the Regent, informing him that I wanted a right thereto. When the Regent was returned to *Edinbrugh*, I remembred Mr. *Randolph* of his promiſe, and informed him a way how I might get them. He anſwered, That he found the Regent ſo ſtubborn, and of ſo ill a nature, that he could not deal with him. Then I told him, That I was abundantly ſenſible of his practiſes, and that whereas it appeared that he would cauſe me not only to abandon the Regent, but to be inſtrumental in perſwading the Laird of *Grange* to be upon a contrary Faction, I would not be that inſtrument, neither would I deſert the King's intereſt, though he ſhould cauſe all the reſt of my Lands to be taken from me.

Seeing that *Grange* could not be moved to join with the Queens Faction, according to the deſire of the Court of *England* (for the reſt of that Kingdom was ſorry to ſee this kind of dealing) the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour perſwaded the *Regent* to irritate and incenſe him, by all manner of ſlights done to himſelf, and his dependers. In the mean time my Lord Duke, the Earls of *Arguile* and *Huntly* addreſſed themſelves unto him, making their moan, "That they being Noblemen of the Country, of conſiderable Intereſt, were refuſed to be "admitted in the Society of the reſt, who ſought their ruine under "pretext of the King's Authority, by the *Regent*, the Earl of *Mortoun*, "and others, not their friends, requeſting him to be their Protector, "and to aſſiſt them during the King's minority. Telling him how, "that they at firſt would gladly have joined with the Kings Lords, "for maintaining the King's Authority, but could not get place, nor "be admitted. Thus *Grange* finding himſelf neglected with the King's Lords, and ſought after by the Queens, he was compelled to declare with that ſide at length, having with him the Lord *Hume*, male-content.

tent. Alſo Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and Sir *James Balfour* ſpurring him on to take that courſe, he was reſolved to take that ſide for his next refuge, he having been among the reſt ſummoned to be forfaulted.

Now the two furious Factions being in this manner framed, their hatred and rage grew greater and greater. For Mr. *Randolph* knew the animoſities which were among the Nobility, and the nature of every one in particular, by his frequent coming, and his long reſidence in *Scotland*. And among the Ladies he had a Mother, and a Miſtreſs, to whom he cauſed his Queen frequently to ſend Commendations, and Tokens. He alſo uſed his craft with the Miniſters, offering Gold to ſuch of them as he thought could be prevailed with to accept of his offer, but ſuch as were honeſt refuſed his gifts. He gave largely to all ſuch, as he knew were able to ſerve him in his deſign of kindling this fire, and his endeavours were ſo ſucceſsful, that the two parties were not only ſtirred up to fight, and ſhod one anothers blood, but would revile each other with injurious and blaſphemous words, and at length fell to the down-caſting of each others Houſes, to which *England* gave no ſmall aſſiſtance, having ſent in a number of Men of War to throw down *Hamiltoun*. This was occaſioned by ſome probability that appeared of a Reconciliation of the two Factions, by the endeavours of ſome of the moſt prudent Miniſters, who did all they could to prevent the enſuing troubles. And they foreſaw that this prejudice was done to the *Hamiltouns*, to inrage them, ſo as there might be no hope of agreement when they ſhould ſee themſelves ſo far injured.

Now as *Nero* ſtood upon a high part of *Rome* to ſee the Town burning, which he had cauſed to be ſet on fire, ſo Mr. *Randolph* delighted to ſee ſuch a fire by his craft kindled in *Scotland*, which was in all probability like to burn it up. And in his Letters to ſome of the Court of *England*, he gloried that he had kindled a fire in *Scotland*, which could not be eaſily extinguiſhed. Which when it came to the knowledge of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, he wrote to my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, advertiſing us how we were handled, expreſſing his deteſtation both at Secretary *Cicil* directer, and Mr. *Randolph* as executer. All the honeſt Men in *England* were ſorry at it, of which number there are as many within that Country, as in any other ſo much bounds in *Europe*.

My Brother and I did ſhew the Letters we had received from Sir *Nicholas*, to the Laird of *Grange*, and ſo many within the Caſtle as we knew to be ſecret, which they eaſily believed, as being Men of great underſtanding, who had noticed Mr. *Randolph*'s proceedings. Whereupon there were ſome ſecret meetings drawn on between my Lord *Hume*, and my Lord *Ruthven* as near-kinſmen. The Lord *Ruthven* was in greateſt favour with the Regent for the time, being alſo Treaſurer, he was deſired to come and ſpeak with my Lord *Hume*, during the hotteſt of the Civil Wars. At which time Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, came into communing with the Lord *Ruthven*; after that he and the Lord *Hume* had ſpoken a ſpace together, and did ſhew him how the *Regent* was uſed by *England*, and how this Kingdom was abuſed by the tricks of a few, for advancing their ſelfiſh ends, and alſo how that the Earl of *Mortoun* had deſired ſecretly to come at midnight, accompanied with Mr. *Archibald Douglas* to the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, and had entertained long conference with them, deſiring their aſſiſtance, and he ſhould chace the Earl of *Lennox* back to *England*, if they would accept and acknowledge him for Regent in his ſtead, which they of the Caſtle would not grant, looking upon the Earl of *Lennox* as a true *Scots-man*. And they declared that their denying to aſſiſt him at firſt, was his being ſent for and brought in by them. That therefore they feared at the firſt, that he would have been too much at the devotion of the Court of *England*, as being an *Engliſh man* ; and having yet his Lady, Children, and Lands in that Country, and moreover that he ſhould be ſo led by the Earl of *Mortoun*, and their factious Enemies, that he would ſeek their utter ruine, both becauſe that Captain *Crauford* who had accuſed the Secretary, was for the time Servant to the Earl of *Lennox*, and alledged that he had a Commiſſion from the ſaid Earl to give in the ſaid Accuſation. And that which gave matter enough to my Lord *Hume*, was the bringing in of the Earl of *Lennox*, by the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the taking of his two Houſes of *Hoome* and *Falcaſtle* all at one time, which he ſuppoſed not to have been done without the Earl of *Lennox* his knowledge and conſent. But ſince they underſtood that the Earl of *Lennox*, and the whole Country was abuſed by *England*, Mr. *Randolph* the Agent, and the Earl of *Mortoun* ; they were reſolved both to agree themſelves, and to cauſe all *Scotland* agree with the *Regent*, if he would grant them reaſonable conditions.

My Lord *Ruthven* was very glad of this offer, and ſaid he hoped to bring them a good anſwer from the *Regent* ; and the rather, becauſe the Earl of *Mortoun* was abſent, being malecontent, for denying to him the grant of the Biſhopprick of St. *Andrews*, which the King's houſe and the Regent's might ill ſpare. So he returned with this offer to the *Regent*, who much relliſht it, and after twice or thrice paſſing betwixt the *Regent* with the Lord *Ruthven*, had concluded a Peace quietly in their minds, none being as yet made privy thereto. But as Ambaſſadours are great Spies, and commonly ſuſpitious, Mr. *Randolph* who lay at *Lieth*, having his own Jealouſies of an intention of accommodation, knew the only way to ſtop it, was to bring again the Earl of *Mortoun*, who he knew would violently oppoſe it, and uſe the utmoſt of his endeavours to render that Deſign ineffectual. He therefore dealt earneſtly with the *Regent*, to give the ſaid *Biſhoprick* of St. *Andrews* to the Earl of *Mortoun*, alledging to her, *That the Queen his Miſtreſs had written to him for that effect, and that ſhe would recompence it to him with greater advantage. That he would cauſe her hand-writing to come to him thereabout, and that ſhe would be much diſſatisfied if he refuſed that her deſire.* When the *Regent* had upon Mr. *Randolph's* deſire granted this, he incontinently advertiſed the Earl of *Mortoun* thereof, who immediately came to Court, and ſmelling the foreſaid deſign of agreement, he uſed all the contrary practices he could to hinder it. For as he had fiſhed that Benefice in troubled Waters, he hoped by ſuch means to fiſh much more. And finding that I was much inclined to draw forward the accommodation, one of his Devices was to cauſe the Councel to Vote and direct the Earl of *Buchan* to take me Priſoner out of my own houſe. But I was at a Marriage in *Fordel*, where the ſaid Earl came, with whom I went willingly, tho I had as many Friends there, as offered to chace him back again without his Errand; but I would not prejudge my juſt Cauſe. For the Earl of *Buchan* was of a gentle and diſcreet Nature, and aſſured me they had nothing to lay to my charge, but to ſee if I could be a good Inſtrument of Concord. He deſired me when I was in *Lieth*, to ſend up to the Caſtle of *Edinlrugh*, and alledg that my Life was in hazard, in caſe they would not render up the Caſtle to the *Regent*. I anſwered, *It was a Childiſh thing in them, to propoſe ſuch a thing to me, ſeeing they could not but know that my Friends in the Caſtle were angrier at me, than they were, becauſe I did not take part with them.* However, the Laird of *Grange* was diſſatisfied, when he heard that I was taken. For he knew how far I was Injur'd, ſeeing I had ſeveral times perſwaded him to take part with the *Regent*, and how far I had reaſoned againſt the *Secretary* and Sir *James Balfour* in their proceedings with the *Queens* Faction. For ſeeing ſhe was Captive, ſo that neither could ſhe help them, nor they her, it would but occaſion her to be the ſtronglier guarded, and kept more ſtraitly in *England*. For hearing that there was a Faction riſen up in her Name, it would cauſe them to ſuppoſe that ſhe was in hope of ſudden liberty, by ſome Practices with the Subjects of *England*. Sir *William Balfour* alledged, That her Majeſty had Friends in *France*, and other Parts, who would be more encouraged to do for her, if they underſtood that a number of the Nobility did own her Authority. I ſaid, That her only Friends were in *England* and *France*; that thoſe who were in *England* durſt not as yet appear, ſeeing there would be a ſpecial Eye held over them, and her *French* friends would do her no good; the *Queen Mother* who had the chief Rule of that Country being her great Enemy, and the Houſe of *Guiſe* neither able to help her, nor yet were they her ſure friends, as I ſhall ſhew more at length anon. I was declaring that the Laird of *Grange* was angry at my taking, I being ſo frank for the Regent, and he ſo willing to join with him. That ſame night he ſent down a Woman from the Caſtle to *Lieth*, with a Ticket to me, *That he was reſolved to come that ſame night at mid-night, and relieve me out of their hands; that he had ſent that Woman to know how I was kept, and where I was lodged.* The Regent's Camp lay between *Lieth* and *Edinbrugh*, and many of the Noblemen and Barons lodged in *Lieth*, for every one had not Pavilions to lodge in the Camp. The Laird of *Grange* had appointed a Boat to lye at *Grantoun*, and had reſolved to come ſailing up to *Lieth* Harbour, as if it had been a Boat come from *Fiffe*, and thought without ſtroke to come to my Lodging, and take me out of my Keepers hands, and go up the water again to a part where he had Horſemen in readineſs, to carry me up to the Caſtle with him. But I would upon no accompt condeſcend thereto, aſſuring him, *That I was in no danger; and that my Lord* Bughan *had promiſed, when I pleaſed, to let me ſlip away, which I would not do, but deſired daily to come to a Tryal.* Many of the Lords marvelled wherefore I was taken, ſeeing they knew, That ſince the Regent's entry to *Scotland*, I had ever aſſiſted him. The Regent himſelf was much therewith diſſatisfied; ſo that after inquiry, it was found, that few of the Councellors knew of my taking. The Earl of *Mar*, a true Nobleman, ſaid, *That the Earl of* Buchan *for embracing ſuch a Commiſſion, was madder than the former Earl his Father, who was known not to be very wiſe.* But the Earl of *Mortoun* ſent me word, *That nothing ſhould ail me more then his own heart.* For the faſhion they deſired me to find Caution, that I ſhould ſerve the King's Majeſty, and his Regent, and ſo I was diſmiſſed, and never brought before the Council. Of a truth I could ſee no reaſon to ſet up two Factions to deſtroy the Country, ſeeing I knew, That though the one party profeſſed to be for the Queen, it was ſo far from conducing to her advantage, that I knew it had a quite contrary effect ſo long as ſhe was Captive, nor yet could I ſee any out-gate for thoſe who profeſſed her Authority, and who were compelled thereto for their own defence. For whereas they would gladly have aſſiſted the King's Lords, if they would have accepted of them; finding themſelves refuſed, neceſſity drew them to defend themſelves under the name of ſome Authority, not true love to the Queen. And therefore I thought them the leſs to be relyed upon. The reſt of my reaſons, why the Queen could expect no help out of *France* from her own friends, nor yet from the *Queen Mother*, were theſe, “The *Queen Mother* had not been well uſed, ſo long as our “Queen's Husband *Francis* the Second lived. The Council and States “of *France* deſired not the Union of this Iſle. For a proof hereof, after that my Brother Sir *Robert*, (when he returned the firſt time of his Ambaſſage out of *England*) brought the hand-writings of twenty five principal Earls and Lords in *England*, to ſet the Crown of *England* upon the Queen of *Scotland*'s head. For the Captains in the particular Shires were ready named, and by thoſe Lords ſet down in that Paper, who were to be in alreadineſs to march forward, whenever they ſhould be charged, only they waited the Queens opportunity, and advertiſement when to ſtir. Upon this intelligence, the Queen incontinently did write to *France*, to her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, deſiring him to ſend to her one of his moſt ſecret Servants, to whom ſhe was to Communicate matters of that weight and importance, that ſhe could not hazard to ſend them in Writing or Cyphers. And accordingly the ſaid Cardinal ſent hither one of his moſt familiar Secretaries, to whom the Queen cauſed my Brother and me to declare the ſtate of *England*, and the great party ſhe had there to eſpouſe her intereſt, as is above ſpecified, deſiring her ſaid Uncle to ſend his advice what time would be moſt fit for her to ſtir, and to ſend what help he and all his friends could procure. This Secretary being returned to his Maſter, informed him of the whole matter. The Cardinal again to inſinuate upon the *Queen Mother*, and to appear to be a true *French man*, acquainted the *Queen Mother* how prejudicial to the Crown of *France*, the Union of this Iſle of great *Britain* would be; that therefore it was her intereſt all ſhe could to oppoſe it. He therefore adviſed her to advertiſe the Queen of *England* of the ſaid intended Plot, as the only and moſt effectual means for preventing it, which the *Queen Mother* failed not to do. But whatever the Queen of *England*'s thoughts of the truth thereof was, ſhe appeared to give no credit thereto, as if ſhe looked upon it as an *Italian* fetch to put her in ſuſpicion of her Nobility. This accompt I had from the Queens Majeſty her ſelf, complaining to me one day of the Cardinal's unkind dealing towards her. Therefore I thought I had good ground to *ſay, There was no help to be looked for out of* France. And the Duke of *Alva* who was in *Flanders*, had plainly refuſed to give her any help, till the King his Maſter would command him; *Seeing*, as he alledged, *he had work enough to do to ſettle his Maſter's own Subjects in* Flanders.

These were the arguments which I uſed to move my friends to agree with the Regent, and my indeavours wanted not ſucceſs, they having come very near a point by the dealing of the two Lords above-mentioned, *Hume* and *Ruthven*, aſſiſted by Secretary *Lidingtoun*: For the Lord *Hume* would then do nothing without his advice.

But after that the Earl of *Mortoun* was returned to the Court, and had by *Randolph*'s means obtained the Biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, theſe two ſuſpecting the probability of the apparent agreement, which had been kept ſecret from them; they fell a plotting ſome way to hinder the ſame, and concluded to hold a Parliament, wherein to forfault all the Queens Lords, whereby the Regent ſhould utterly ruine his ancient Enemies the *Hamiltouns*, and there would be a bait to every one of the King's Lords, ſeeing they ſhould be made ſharers of the ſpoil and ſo each of them get wealth enough. Mr. *Randolph*, for their encouragement, gave them aſſurance of aſſiſtance from *England*, ſo that they needed fear no reſiſtance from their adverſaries. The Earl of *Mortoun* had made a great Faction in the Council, partly by repreſenting the Queens Lords as intending to re-eſtabliſh Popery (upon which allegiance he knew he would make them odious to the generality of the People) but eſpecially by promiſing each of his party a ſhare of the forfaulters of the Queens Lords, ſo that they were eaſily brought to conſent to a Parliament, to be held at *Sterling* for the foreſaid effect.

The Queens Lords to be equal with them, held another Parliament at *Edinbrugh* both at one time, upon that very ſame deſign of forfaulting the King's Lords. The Laird of *Grange* in the mean time took great diſpleaſure to ſee *Scotſmen* ſo furiouſly bent againſt each other, ſet on by the practices of *England*, and the extream avarice of ſome particular men, for their ſelfiſh deſigns, who intended to augment their Eſtates, and raiſe their own Fortunes upon the ruines of their Neighbours. Therefore he ſent for the Laird of *Fernihaſt* his Son-in-Law, the Laird of *Buccleugh* Father to this preſent Lord, who loved the Laird of *Grange* better than any of his own kindred; which Laird of *Buccleugh* was a man of rare qualities, wiſe, true, ſtout, and modeſt. Theſe two Gentlemen were deſired to come well accompanied, and arrived at *Edinbrugh* in an Evening late. The Laird of *Grange* had already deviſed an enterpriſe, to wit, *That ſame night after they had Supt themſelves, and baited their Horſes, to ride all night forward with them to* Sterling, *to be there early in the morning before any of the Lords who held the Parliament were out of their Beds, hoping by the intelligence he had received, aſſuredly to ſurpriſe them before they could be advertiſed.* All the Lords and Council found the advice exceeding good, but they would in no ways grant that he ſhould ride with them, alledging, *That their only comfort, under God, conſiſted in his preſervation.* He on the other hand alledged, *His preſence would be neceſſary, for he was acquainted with* *difficult enterpriſes, and feared that they would not follow rightly nor carefully his directions.* But they ingaged to follow it moſt ſtrictly, and would not ſuffer him to ride with them, but the Earl of *Huntly*, my Lord *Arbroth*, and divers others went forward with the Forces. Theſe two Gentlemen had brought them, and were at *Stirling* before Four of the Clock in the Morning, and entred the Town of *Stirling* at a little paſſage, led by a Towns-man called *George Bell*, which entry of theirs was immediately after the Night-watches had retired to their reſt. They divided their Men, and appointed ſuch as they thought meeteſt to await at every Lord's Lodging, and a Company with Captain *Hackerſtoun* to wait at the Market-Croſs, to cauſe good order to be kept, and to preſerve the Town-houſes from being ſpoiled, only they appointed the Stables to be cleanſed by *Buccleugh* and *Fernehaſt*'s men, giving them commands not to leave one Horſe in Town uncarried away with them, which Commiſſion the South-land Lads forgot not punctually to execute: But becauſe Captain *Hackerſtoun* came not in due time with his Company to ſtand where he was appointed, a number of unruly Servants broke up the Merchants Booths, and run here and there in diſorder after the ſpoil, leaving their Maſters all alone. After they had taken out all the Lords from their Lodgings, and were leading them Captives down the ſteep Caſſway of *Sterling* on foot, intending to take their Horſes at the nether Port, and ride to *Edinbrugh* with their Priſoners. But thoſe within the Caſtle being allarumed with the noiſe of the Towns-men, crying out, becauſe of the ſpoil taken from them, imagining what ſhame they would indure, if they did not ſhew themſelves Men, and perceiving the diſorder of their Enemies, they came down fearleſly upon them, and reſcued all the Priſoners ſave the Regent, whom one came and ſhot behind his back, commanded as was alledged by my Lord of *Pacly*. The Laird of *Wormiſtoun* was the taker of the *Regent*, and had been ordained by the Laird of *Grange* to wait upon him, to ſave him from his particular Enemies. For they all had ingaged to him, e're they went from *Edinbrugh*, not to kill one man, elſe he would not have left them. *Wormiſtoun* was alſo killed againſt the *Regent*'s will, who cryed continually to ſave him, who had done what he could for his preſervation. The *Regent* dyed not ſuddenly, but ſome days after, and made a very godly end. They who had loſt this fair enterpriſe for want of *Granges* conduct, had enough to do to ſave themſelves, and had been all taken had not thoſe in *Stirling* wanted horſes to purſue after them. For thoſe who had taken the horſes, did ride forward with all poſſible ſpeed, leaving their Maſters in danger to do for themſelves.

When they were returned back to *Edinbrugh*, they were very unwelcome gueſts to the Laird of *Grange*, who greatly lamented the *Regent*'s ſlaughter. He ſaid openly, *If he knew who had done that foul deed, or had directed it to be done, his own hand ſhould have revenged it.* And whereas before he uſed to be meek and gentle, he could not now command himſelf, but burſted out in harſh language, calling them diſorderly Beaſts: For he knew the Regent was inclined to Peace, and was only ignorantly driven on by the Earl of *Mortoun*, and Mr. *Randolph's* practiſes to hold the ſaid Parliament, to the hinderance of concord and agreement, therefore his intention was to bring all the

Kings Lords to the Caſtle of *Edenbrugh*, and to have made an agreement betwixt them and the other faction before they had parted. But God in his providence would not permit this, for further puniſhment of our wickedneſs. For the Parliaments held forward, and each one of them forefaulted others, the Kings Lords came and lay at *Lieth*, and the *Queens* within the Town and Caſtle of *Edenbrugh*.

Mr. *Randolph* would have had *Mortoun* made *Regent* inſtead of *Lennox*, but the *Lords* liked better of the Earl of *Marr* and choſe him.

For a little time there was hot skirmiſhing betwixt *Lieth* and *Edinbrugh*, and extream hatred betwixt the two factions, and great cruelties exerciſed, where they could be Maſters of one another. And frequently the Marſhal of *Berwick* came to *Lieth* to aſſiſt Mr. *Randolph* privately, tho publickly to find fault with him for his proceedings, which my Lord of *Marrs* friends perceived, and himſelf at laſt, whereupon he began to grow colder in the quarrel, and withdrew himſelf to *Stirling*, adviſing with his friends what was meeteſt to be done. Alledging that he could ſee nothing but the wrack of the Country, under pretext of owning the *King* and *Queens* Authority, while neither *Kings* nor *Queens* was in any of their minds, but only put on by their own partialities of ambition, greedineſs, and vengeance, *England* kindling up both the Parties, and then laughing them all to ſcorn.

After this Conference, Captain *James Cunningham*, ſervant to my Lord of *Marr*, a diſcreet Gentleman, deſired a ſecret meeting with my Brother Sir *Robert*. In the mean time the moſt part of the Kings Lords went to *Stirling*, where the *Regent* was living. My Lord of *Mortoun* went to *Dalkieth*, my Lord *Lindſay* lay in *Lieth*. When the Wars grew colder, and notice thereof taken by the Court of *England*, a new Ambaſſador was haſted to *Scotland*, to wit, Mr. *Henry Killegrew* an old acquaintance of mine. For Mr. *Randolph* was returned home, becauſe he had not ſuch Credit with the Earl of *Marr* as to do ſervice to theſe he ſerved, and had loſt the favour of both the Factions. For his double dealing was diſcovered, he having no Credit but with the Earl of *Mortoun*.

This new Ambaſſador being Arrived at *Lieth* upon his way toward *Stirling*, where the *Regent* remained for the time, he ſent up to the Caſtle of *Edenbrugh* to ſee if I was there. For they had told him in *Lieth*, that I was newly come from *Fiffe*. He deſired that I would come and ſpeak with him, which I did, and convoyed him unto *Cramond* reaſoning together all the way upon ſuch matters, as he ſaid he had in Commiſſion, chiefly how he might be a good inſtrument to agree the differences that were between the two Parties, albeit I knew there was nothing leſs in his mind, at leaſt in his Commiſſion. He ſaid, He had the *Queen* his Miſtreſs commands to deal with both Parties for Concord, but that he was moſt concerned in theſe of the Caſtle, albeit that outwardly he behooved firſt to go to the *Regent*, being in civility engaged to give him the prerogative, yet in effect he ſaid my friends in the Caſtle were theſe, to them he was chiefly directed, that they ſhould be preferred both by his firſt ſalutation by me to them, and by two familiar Letters, the one from my Lord of *Leiceſter* to the Laird of *Grange*, and the other from Secretary *Cicil* to Secretary *Lidingtoun*, deſiring me to intreat them to follow the good counſel given therein by the ſaid Lords, who loved them intirely for their vertue, and old acquaintance. He willed me to tell them, that after he had declared his Commiſſion to the *Regent*, he would come back again to them and at length declare his Commiſſion to them from Her Majeſty.

It appeared to me that he had intelligence how that Mr. *Randolph*'s double dealing had been diſcovered, therefore he ſeemed to find fault with him in many things, though in general he excuſed him as far as he could, until I adjured him upon the long and great familiarity that had been betwixt us, to deal plainlier with me. I told him he might ſerve his *Miſtreſs* truly enough, without caſting me and my friends upon a wrong ſide, which might be afterwards our ruin who deſerved better at his hands, then to put us in ſuch dangers as if we were untoward, diſhoneſt, or uncounſellable, as Mr. *Randolph* had done; forgetting the fraternity of Religion ſo well grounded among us during his baniſhment in *France* for Religion. There he was compelled to confeſs to me, that his Commiſſion and his mind went not one way, and that he was imployed againſt his will, tho as a Servant he durſt not diſobey his Princeſs, he ſaid he would give me his loving counſel, and warning very freely.

He ſaid that the Council of *England* neither built their courſe here upon the late *Regent*, nor yet upon this, but intirely upon the Earl of *Mortoun* as well of their own Plot laid down long ſince, as by the Information of Mr. *Randolph*, who hath confirmed them in that Opinion, ſo that they will not alter for no contrary perſuaſion. Willing my friends and me to joyn our courſe and band with the Earl of *Mortoun*, or elſe to expect no friendſhip from the Court of *England*, but hurt and ruin ſo far as they might. For albeit he was not *Regent*, they knew that he had a great Faction in the Country, which they were reſolved what they could to encreaſe, ſo that whoever was *Regent*, he ſhould get little or nothing done without his conſent. In this I thought he dealt plainly, my friends of the Caſtle were of that ſame Judgment, yet they could not find in their heart to joyn with him, albeit he ſought their friendſhip, offering to hold up the *Queens* Authority, for they thought his courſe unſure for the King, and ſetling of the Eſtate, he being too much addicted to *England*.

After that this Ambaſſador had been with the *Regent* in *Stirling*, and was come back again to *Edinbrugh*, he told the reſt of his Commiſſion to them of the Caſtle, to whom he uſed himſelf but like an Ambaſſador as he was directed. He ſaid that he found them more reaſonable, then the *Regents* Party. Then he went to *Dalkieth* to meet with the Earl of *Mortoun*, and thereafter returned to *Edinbrugh*, to wait all fit occaſions and informations how to proceed conform to the tenor of his inſtructions. He had Commandment to ſtay in *Scotland* for a time, to ſee if he could obtain as much Credit, as to ſerve their turn who ſent him. And becauſe I was of his greateſt acquaintance, he came with me to my Houſe in *Halhil*, and ſtayed a few dayes there to refreſh his Spirits, and after that I convoyed him back again to *Edinbrugh*, he ſhewed me ſome Articles of his Inſtructions one of the which was.

" *Item*, If the *Captain* of the *Caſtle* will condeſcend, that all the " differences now in queſtion among the *Scots*, be referred to be de-" cided before us and our Councel, as the reſt of the Kings Lords " have granted already, we ſhall be his good friend, maintain him in " his Office, and give him an honourable Penſion. But he plainly " refuſed to comply with this; ſaying, he would prejudge his *Prince* " and Country, ſo that this, and his other former refuſals coſt him his " life afterwards.

About this time my Lord *Regent* ſent a Letter to me, with all diligence to come to him. At my coming, he made a heavy moan for the civil troubles that were kindled in the Country, by the Craft and Malice of ſome in *England*, and ſome in *Scotland*, taking the colour of this or that authority, and yet were only moved with their own particularities to the hurt both of *King*, *Queen* and Country, deſiring me that I would go unto the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, and ſhew them as of my own head and not as from him, that I underſtood he perceived albeit too late, how that we were all led upon the Ice, and that it was the Intereſt of all true *Scotſmen* to agree, that the State may be ſetled. And ſays he, you may deſire them to ſeek to treat with me thereabout which you may aſſure them they will obtain, if they will ſeek the ſame. And offer your ſelf to be the inſtrument to bring on a good agreement between them and me, which ſhall by Gods Grace take good effect upon your return with their reaſonable offers and anſwer. Whereupon I went to *Edinbrugh*, and found them all inclined to peace and quietneſs, with little need of perſuaſions thereto, for they were near a point before with my Lord of *Lennox*, and ſome former Conference had been betwixt my *Brother* and Captain *Cunningham* thereabouts.

At my return to the *Regent*, he was very glad, ſaying, he knew that theſe honeſt Gentlemen were ever willing to ceaſe from civil diſcord, ſeeing the *Queen* was Captive, to whom their owning her authority could do no good but evil; but that they had been by crafty practiſes caſt againſt their wills upon a contrary courſe. Then he inquired upon what conditions the Captain and his friends would agree; I ſaid that the Laird of *Grange* would not ſell his Duty to His Prince and Country for advantage, but would ſerve the King and his Country to ſettle the Eſtate; ſo long as the *Queen* was detained in *England*, and if God pleaſed to grant her liberty, they doubted not but ſhe and her Son ſhould agree betwixt themſelves, to which all honeſt and good Subjects would conſent. They for their parts deſired no Mans Lands nor Goods, but only Liberty peaceably to enjoy their own Livings. Only *Grange* deſired that the *Regent* would cauſe to pay certain Debts contracted for repairing of the Caſtle and Artillery, which conditions the *Regent* promiſed to fulfil, and to be an aſſured friend to *Grange*, and thoſe in the Caſtle. And without any other Ceremonies he called the Laird of *Tillibardin*, and after he declared unto him how far we had proceeded, he put his hand in mine and did ſwear the Peace in preſence of the ſaid *Tillibardin*, who had alſo been a good Inſtrument in the ſaid agreement, together with Mr. *Clement Little* afterwards Provoſt of *Edinbrugh*. No man was privy thereto, but my Lady *Mar*, and Captain *James Cuningham*.

After this, the *Regent* went to *Edinbrugh*, to Convene the Lords of Councel, to ſhew them the Calamities that the Civil-Wars produced, and to let them ſee how neceſſary an agreement would be to the whole Country. In the mean time, until the appointed Councel-day, he went to *Dalkieth*, where he was nobly treated by the Lord of *Mortoun*, ſhortly after which he took a vehement ſickneſs, which cauſed him to ride ſuddenly to *Stirling*, where he dyed regrated by many. Some of his friends, and the vulgar, ſuſpected he had gotten wrong at his Banquet.

The Earl of *Mortoun*, after the deceaſe of the Earl of *Marr* was made *Regent*, *England* helping it with all their might; ſo ſoon as he was choſen he ſent for me, declaring how that againſt his mind and inclinations, the Lords had burthened him with that troubleſome Office, whereof ſeeing he behoved to accept, he could wiſh that he might ſtand the Country and Common-wealth in ſome ſtead. Firſt he would deſire the help of all good and honeſt men, to draw on Peace and Concord to the quieting the State, praying me as one for whom he had ever entertained ſpecial favour, to travail with my friends of the Caſtle for that effect, and to perſuade them to go forward with him, as they were minded to do with the Earl of *Marr*, aſſuring me that none of the former *Regents* had at any time been more willing, then he was preſently to put an end to the civil troubles, nor that I ſhould remember leſs the partialities paſt, and that the *Regent* ſhould not revenge the Earl of *Mortoun*'s quarrels. But whoever would ſerve the King and be his friend, he would embrace them upon what faction ſoever they had formerly been. And he was willing to give whatever conditions the Earl of *Marr* had offered, that I ſhould have the Priory of *Pittenweem* for my pains, the Laird of *Grange* the Biſhoprick of *St. Andrews*, and Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, and every one within the Caſtle ſhould be reſtored to their Lands, and Poſſeſſions as before.

It was very hard to bring on this agreement with the Earl of *Mortoun*, for the evil opinion which was conceived of him, and the hurtful marks they ſuppoſed by proofs and appearances that he would ſhoot at, being by nature covetous and too great with *England*, and ever Jealous that the King would be his ruine, concerning which a Lady who was his Whore, had ſhewn him the anſwers of the Oracles. Yet the Laird of *Grange*, who was ever willing to ſee Concord in the Country, was eaſily perſuaded, the Lord *Hume*, and *Lidingtoun* made ſome reſiſtance at the firſt, but were alſo at length content. So that after I had paſt twice or thrice between them, they appeared to be agreed in their hearts, and the Laird of *Grange* ſaid, he would cauſe all the reſt of the *Queens* faction to agree with the *Regent*, but he refuſed to take the Biſhoprick of *St. Andrews* and Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, deſiring nothing but his own Lands.

When I returned to the *Regent* with this anſwer conform to his deſire, he was marvellouſly glad; but when I declared that the Laird of *Grange* would be a good inſtrument to cauſe all the reſt of the *Queens* faction agree alſo with him; he anſwered, that was not meet. And when I reaſoned againſt him, and ſhewed him how that I had ſpoken in his name, that he was reſolved to have agreed all *Scotland*, and that *Grange* had no quarrel of his own, but to help a number of Noble-ble-men who required his Protection during the Kings Minority, and had requeſted the *Regent* once to agree with them altogether, for *Granges* honour, and afterwards he and all theſe of the Caſtle ſhould band with him and lay aſide all other bands. The *Regent* anſwered, and ſaid, *James* I will be plain with you, it is not my Intereſt to agree with them all, for then their faction will be as ſtrong as ever it was, thereby they may ſome day circumvent me if they pleaſe, therefore it is my game to divide them. And moreover there have been great troubles in this Country this while by-gone, and during them great wrongs and extortions committed, for the which ſome faſhion of puniſhment muſt be made, and I would rather that the Crimes ſhould be laid upon the *Hamiltouns*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and their Adherents, then upon your Friends: and by their wrack I will get more profit, then by that of thoſe in the Caſtle, that have neither ſo great Lands to eſcheat to us, as the reward of our labours. Therefore ſhew *Grange* and your friends, that either they muſt agree without the *Hamiltouns*, and the *Earls of Huntly and Arguile*, or the ſaid Lords will agree without him, and theſe of the Caſtle. To this I anſwered, That I underſtood him, his Speeches being very plain, with this I went again to the Caſtle, and rehearſed our whole reaſoning, *Grange* ſaid it was neither godly or juſt dealing, to lay the blame upon thoſe who were richeſt for their Lands and Goods, and not upon them who were guiltieſt, ſeeing theſe Noblemen had been ever willing to agree, after that the *Queen* was kept in *England*, but could not be admitted. And yet if now they would abandon him, and agree without him, and thoſe in his company, he had deſerved better at their hands, yet he had rather that they ſhould leave and deceive him, then that he ſhould do it unto them.

When I had given this return to *Mortoun*, and that he perceived that *Grange* ſtood ſtiff upon his honeſty and reputation, he appeared to like him the better, and ſeemed as if he had been reſolved to go forward with theſe of the Caſtle. He ſent up *Carmichael* at my deſire, to hear out of their own mouths ſo far as I had ſpoken in their name; they of the Caſtle likewiſe ſent *Pittadrow* to the *Regent* to hear out of his own mouth, ſo far about the agreement as I had ſaid to them in his name. This I did for my diſcharge, whatſoever might come afterwards.

The *Regent* asked at what time the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh* ſhould be delivered to him, I ſaid, within half a year. What ſecurity, ſaid he, ſhall I have for it? I ſaid, I ſhould be a Pledge if he would accept me. Then he enquired wherefore I ſought ſo long delay? I anſwered in the firſt place, till all Articles and Promiſes might be performed, and likewiſe becauſe though the Laird of *Grange* was ever eſteemed an honeſt man, yet by wrong Reports and Practices the Miniſters have been ſtirred up to cry out and preach againſt him, therefore to inable him to ſerve for the future, it would be ſome ſatisfaction to his mind, to let the world ſee that as well after the agreement as before, he ſhould be eſteemed alike honeſt and worthy to keep the houſe, and then at the time appointed the *Regent* ſhould be intreated to receive the Caſtle out of his hands. He appeared to be very well content with this manner of dealing, and gave me great thanks for his travel I had made, deſiring me to go home, and he in the mean time would convene the reſt of the Noble-men of his ſide, and acquaint them with his Proceedings, and take their advice and conſent to this good work, which he doubted not to procure, and thereafter he ſaid, he would ſend for me again and put the form of the agreement in Writing.

But he took immediately another courſe, and ſent a fit man to the *Hamiltouns*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Arguile*, and their dependers, and offered an accommodation to them, if they would be ſatisfied to make an agreement by themſelves not including *Grange* and thoſe in the Caſtle, which condition they accepted of, without making therein any Ceremonies, whereof they by their Letters inſtantly from *Pearth* advertiſed the Laird of *Grange*, lamenting that the ſtraits they were redacted to, had compelled them to accept that agreement which the *Regent* had offered them, praying him not to take it in evil part, ſeeing they had no houſe nor ſtrength to retire themſelves to. They gave him many thanks for the help and aſſiſtance he had made them, which they ſaid, they would never forget ſo long as God would lend them their lives.

This was the recompence this good Gentleman obtained for the great help he had given the Lords, the hazard he had run upon their account, and the Charges he had been at in aiding them, not imagining that the *Regent* would be ſo malitious as to caſt him off, and not accept of his friendſhip which he incontinently offered, after the reſt were agreed: but from that time forth the *Regent* would hear none of his offers, perſuading the reſt of his Faction that theſe of the Caſtle were ſo proud and wilful, that they refuſed to ſerve the *King*, or acknowledge him as *Regent*. And this was Publiſhed and Preached, and yet the contrary was true, For they would have taken any reaſonable appointment. What rage was in the *Regents* mind for greedineſs of their Lands, and Goods, or what ſhould have induced him to bring an Army from *England* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, I know not, it being to the diſhonour of his Prince and Country, ſeeing a little before the Caſtle was offered to the Earl of *Rotheſs*, to be inſtantly delivered unto his hands, to be kept to the *Regents* behoof, which was refuſed. So that apparently he had ſome other fetch in his head, then a man eſteemed ſo wiſe ſhould have had, ſeeing he might have obtained his intent without the help of *England*, having all *Scotland* at his Devotion, ſaving that few number without the Caſtle, who would likewiſe have agreed upon any reaſonable condition.

Thus the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh* was ſtraitly beſieged with an *Engliſh* Army under the Conduct of the *Marſhal* of *Berwick*, aſſiſted by all *Scotland*. Theſe within ſeeing they could not be received upon any compoſition, debated ſo long as they had victuals and water. For their Draw-well dryed by the drouthy Summer, and they had no other water but what they fetched, letting men with Cords down o're the Walls, and Rock of the Caſtle to a Well on the weſt ſide, which was afterward poyſoned, whereby ſo many as eſcaped the Shot dyed, and the reſt fell deadly ſick. Yet the Laird of *Grange* undertook with Eight perſons to keep the Caſtle untaken by force, of the which number, were the Lord *Hume*, my two Brothers, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Andrew*, the Laird of *Pittadrow*, and his Brother *Patrick*. This reſolution being taken, the Laird of *Cheſh*, and *Matthew Colvil* his Brother were ſent to the Caſtle, under the pretext of making offers of agreement, but their deſign was to get intelligence of the State of the Houſe, and to ſeduce the Soldiers who were yet alive, which they did, ſo that ſome fled out over the Walls, and others were ſhut forth. For the Captain thought the houſe in a better condition both for Victuals and otherwiſe, when they were forth.

The Marſhal of *Berwick* ſeeing no appearance to ſucceed, entred into contention with the Ambaſſador, alledging that the Queen his Miſtreſs would be diſhonoured, and ſaid, he would wait no longer, whereupon they without entred on a new communing, and ſent up again the Laird of *Cleeſh* to offer them good conditions to come forth with their Armour and Bag and Baggage, which was agreed to, and that they ſhould be reſtored to their Lands, and becauſe for the time they were in other mens poſſeſſion, it was referred to themſelves whether they would go to *England* with the *Marſhal* of *Berwick*, or remain in *Scotland* among their friends, until the promiſe made them of reſtoring them to their Lands might be fulfilled. The *Engliſh men* deſired that the Caſtle ſhould be put in their hands, but *Grange* ſent ſecretly to Captain *Hume*, and Captain *Crauford*, deſiring them to come and ly within the Bulwark betwixt the Houſe and the *Engliſh* men, and to thoſe he delivered the Caſtle, and his perſon to the Marſhal to go with him to *England*, until all promiſes might be kept to him, and the reſt by the Queen of *Englands* means. In this manner they came forth, after that *George Duglas* natural Brother to the *Regent*, had received the Houſe, they had all their Swords and Weapons about them, and were three days at liberty. My Brother Sir *Robert* lay with me at his own Lodging, the Laird of *Grange* and the Secretary *Lidingtoun* remained yet with the *Marſhal* of *Berwick* at his Lodging for their greater ſecurity, becauſe that the people of the Town of *Edinbrugh* were greatly their Enemies. For except a few that tarried within the Town during the Civil Troubles between the Parties that lay in *Edinbrugh* and *Lieth*, the moſt part of the richeſt Men and Merchants left the Town and went to *Lieth*, to take part with the *Regent*, therefore their houſes were ſpoiled, upon which account they did bear great hatred to thoſe in the Caſtle.

But at the end of three days, they were all laid hands upon, and taken as Priſoners. For ſome of their moſt malicious enemies put it eaſily in the *Regents* head, and the Ambaſſadors, that it was well done to move the Queen of *England* to cauſe to deliver the whole Priſoners to the *Regent* to be diſpoſed upon at his pleaſure; alledging they had no ſurety but a naked promiſe which they needed not to keep, and becauſe theſe of the Caſtle confided wholy on the *Marſhals* promiſe, the Ambaſſador was adviſed to prevent the *Marſhals* Writing, ſo that e're he did write to the *Queen* thereabout, her Letter came to him to deliver up the Priſoners who had been in the Caſtle, to the *Regent*. And he durſt not diſobey her Command, the ſame being ſo peremptory, tho he obeyed it with much regret, and great reluctancy, by reaſon of his promiſe, and returned malecontent to *Berwick*. And they in the Caſtle were Committed to ſtrait ward, and thereafter new Letters were purchaſed by the *Regent* from the Queen, that he might execute them, which ſhe willingly permitted, for ſhe would gladly have been quit of my Lord *Hume*, and *Grange*, as being two true *Scotſmen*, unwonable to *England* to do any thing prejudicial to their *King* or *Country*, and of the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, but he dyed at *Lieth*, after the old *Roman* faſhion as was ſaid, to prevent his coming to the Shambles with the reſt.

As for the Lord *Hume*, the *Regent* durſt not meddle with him, he ſtanding in awe of *Alexander Hume* of *Manderſtoun*, *Coildinknows*, and the *Good man* of *North Berwick*, and the reſt of that name, who boaſted with very proud Language. He dyed ſhortly after, being warded in the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*. Mr. *Killegrew* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador deſired no other reward for his labour, but the preſervation of my Brother Sir *Robert's* life, for he was obliged formerly to him and me. The Compoſition, was kept to all the reſt of the mean Gentlemen. The *Priour* of *Coldingham*, and Laird of *Drylaw* were afterwards ſet at liberty. Sundry of the Captains of *Berwick* went up to the Caſtle by the breach beat down in the fore Wall by the Canons, that they might ſay that they had won the Maiden Caſtle. But this was after that the houſe was delivered over to the *Regents* Brother, yet he would not ſuffer them to enter there with any number.

On this manner both *England* and the *Regent* were revenged upon that worthy Champion, whom they had ſometimes in great eſtimation, who had done ſuch notable ſervice in *France*, being Captain of an hundred light Horſemen, that he was extolled by the Duke of *Vendome*, Prince of *Conde*, and Duke of *Aumale* Governors and Colonels then in *Picardy*, that I heard *Henry* the 2*d*, point unto him and ſay, yonder is one of the moſt Valiant Men of our Age. Alſo the King uſed him ſo familiarly, that he choſe him commonly upon his ſide in all paſtimes he went to, and becauſe he ſhot far with a great Shaft at the Butts, the King would have him to ſhoot two Arrows, one for his pleaſure. The great *Conſtable* of *France* would never ſpeak to him uncovered, and that King gave him an honourable Penſion, whereof he never ſought payment. *England* had proof of his Valour frequently againſt them upon the Borders, where he gave them divers ruffles. In a ſingle Combate, he vanquiſhed the Earl of *Rivers*'s Brother between the two Armies of *Scotland* and *England*. He afterward Debated manfully the liberty of his Country againſt the *French* men, when they intended to erect the Land into a Province. He had lately refuſed the demands of Mr. *Randolph*, and Mr. *Killegrew*, as is before mentioned, and had reproached both the ſaid Ambaſſadors of falſe and deceitful dealing. Laſt of all he had refuſed to put the Caſtle into the hands of *Engliſh* men, and therefore becauſe he was true to his Prince and Country, it coſt him his life. For they boaſted plainly to bring down that Gyants pride, who as they alledged, preſumed to be another *Wallace*. Albeit contrariwiſe he was humble, gentle, and meek, like a Lamb in the Houſe, but like a Lyon in the Fields. He was a luſty ſtrong and well proportioned perſonage, hardy and of a magnanimous Courage, ſecret and prudent in all his enterpriſes, ſo that never one that he made or deviſed miſgave where he was preſent himſelf. When he was Victorious he was very merciful, and naturally liberal, an enemy to greedineſs and ambition, and a friend to all men in adverſity. He fell frequently in trouble in protecting innocent men from ſuch as would oppreſs them, ſo that theſe his worthy qualifications, were alſo partly cauſes and means of his wrack: For they promoted him ſo in the opinion of many, that ſome loved him for his Religion, Uprightneſs, and Manlineſs; others again depended upon him, for his good fortune and apparent promotion, whereby divers of them hoped to be advanced and rewarded ſuppoſing, that Offices and Honours could not fail to fall to him. All which he wanted through his own default, for he had fled from Avarice, and abhorred Ambition, and refuſed ſundry great Offices, even to be Regent, which were in his offer, as well as other great Benefices and Penſions. Thus wanting place and ſubſiſtance to reward, he was ſoon abandoned by his greedy and ambitious dependers: for when they ſaw him at a ſtrait, they drew to others, whom they perceived to aim at more profitable marks. On the other hand he was as much envied by thoſe who were of a vile and unworthy nature, of whom many have made Tragical ends for their too great Avarice and Ambition, as ſhortly after did the Earl of *Mortoun*. This gallant Gentleman periſhed for being too little ambitious and greedy. But ſo ſoon as the King's Majeſty came to perfect age, and had underſtood how matters had gone during his minority, he cauſed to reſtore the Heirs of the ſaid Laird of *Grange*, whom he ſaid was wracked contrary to the appointment made with the Marſhal of *Berwick*, and alſo ordered his bones to be taken up and buried honourably in the ancient Burial place of his Predeceſſors in *Kinghorn*.

After his death the Marſhal of *Berwick* took ſo heavy diſpleaſure, finding himſelf ſo far affronted, becauſe of the breach of his promiſe, and that the appointment which he had made with the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh* was not kept; that he would tarry no longer in his Office at *Berwick*, ſeeing he judged he had loſt his credit and reputation, for he was a plain Man of War, and loved *Grange* ſo dearly, that at his requeſt, he ſpared to caſt down the Houſes of *Seatoun* and *Nidrie*, when he came in to caſt down the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*. Likewiſe all the Officers of *Berwick* lamented the loſs of ſo worthy a Captain.

The Regent triumphed for a while, becauſe of the great aſſiſtance that *England* made to him, which they had never done to any of the former *Regents*, but rather ſtirred up factions and parties againſt them to keep the Country in diſcord. The cauſes that moved them ſo to aſſiſt him, were, That they believed the old jealouſies betwixt the *Stuarts* and *Douglaſſes* ſhould by him be brought to an end, the young King being in his hands, to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure; the Queen his Mother being already Captive in their hands, which two only could join *Scotland* and *England* in one Monarchy. Therefore above all others the guiders of the Court of *England* for the time, wiſhed them out of the way, as well for the great Offices done by them both to King and Queen, as for the deſire they had to deſtroy that Race and Line, to place ſome of their own friends to ſucceed to the Crown of *England*. So thinking that the Regent's mark in *Scotland*, and theirs in *England* was conformable; they eſtabliſhed and fortified him in his Regiment, though God in his goodneſs ſuffered not their practiſes to take effect. For the Regent wanting Heirs of his own body, and having no Competitors to ſtay him from doing any thing that he pleaſed, when he thought the time meet, he delayed matters, and in the mean time bent his whole ſtudy how to gather riches, and how to ſuck out ſubſtance both from *England* and *Scotland*, moving *England* thereby too late to repent; that they had not preſerved the Laird of *Grange* to be an awe over the Regent, as he kept the King to be an aw over them. And as he was crafty, ſo he was fearful and ſlow of nature, and thought the Earl of *Angus* his Brother's Son yet too young, and not capable to comprehend his hidden intention, and therefore he was long of reſolving. In the mean time ſerving his own turn with *England*, as they did with all the World, when they were like to have any trouble among themſelves, or with their Neighbours; then he compelled them to ſend him mony, which they were neceſſitated to do, though ſore againſt their heart, with a hidden deſpight and ſecret hatred at his ſlowneſs on the one part, and covetouſneſs on the other.

This *Regent* held the Country in an eſtabliſhed Eſtate, under great obedience, better then for many years before or ſince. For there was not another Earl of *Mortoun* to ſtir up the factious Subjects, as he uſed to do againſt the reſt of the *Regents*, which made him ſo proud and diſdainful, that he deſpiſed the reſt of the Nobility. And uſing no Mans counſel but his own, he became ungrateful to all his old Friends and Servants. And being under pretext of Juſtice, uſed to commit divers wrongs and extortions, he cauſed to begin a Proceſs againſt the Laird of *Fentry*, becauſe many years before a Thief had made his eſcape out of his hands, and againſt the Laird of *Seafield* for a piece of Land; and againſt Mr. *James Thorntoun* for his Benefice. Thus as he had loſt the favour of *England*, ſo did he by ſuch ways the hearts of all *Scotland*, but only of *George Auſlech*, and *Alexander Gerdan*. As for the Laird of *Carmichael*, he lamented to me grievouſly of his ingratitude toward him, and was minded to leave him, until I gave him counſel to help himſelf by the hurtful experience of the Laird of *Grange*, and *Walter Melvil* my Brother, who was one of the Gentlemen of the Earl of *Murray*'s Chamber, which two loſt his favour ſo ſoon as he became Regent. And likewiſe I told him, that very way I loſt him my ſelf, for we had been long familiar with him, and had aſſiſted him in all his troubles, but when he was Regent, we would with our wonted freedom reprove, admoniſh, and tell him his faults, whereby we loſt his favour. And others who formerly had ever been againſt him, came in and flattered him in all his proceedings, and ſtouped very low to him, calling him *Your Grace* at each word. Theſe men, I ſaid, won him, and we loſt him. And apparently, ſaid I, to *Carmichael*, you follow the like fooliſh behaviour as we did, therefore you muſt take up another kind of doing. And ſeeing your friend is become *Regent*, imagine that you was never acquainted with him before, but that you are entring to ſerve a new Maſter: Caſt never up your old and long ſervice, cringe low, *Grace* him at every word, find no fault with his proceedings, but ſerve all his affections with great diligence, and continual waiting, and you ſhall be ſure of a reward. Otherwiſe all your former time ſpent in his ſervice will be loſt, and he will hate you, and take a diſpight at you, which may bring on afterwards a greater wrack. *Carmichael* gave me great thanks and his hand, that he would follow this counſel, which he afterward did very punctually, and ſo became a greater Courtier then ever, and was employed and rewarded, and had credit to do pleaſure to his friends, but I found him not thankful afterwards to me for my counſel.

Now the young King was brought up in *Sterling*, by *Alexander Areskine*, and my Lady *Mar*. He had four principal Maſters, Mr. *George Buchnanan*, Mr. *Peter Young*, the Abbots of *Cambuskenneth* and *Drybrugh*, deſcended from the Houſe of *Areskine*. The Laird of *Drumwhaſel* was Maſter of his Houſhold. *Alexander Areskine* was a gallant well natur'd Gentlemen, loved and honoured by all Men, for his good qualities, and great diſcretion, no ways factious nor envious, a lover of all honeſt Men, and deſired ever to ſee Men of good Converſation about the Prince, rather then his own nearer friends, if he found them not ſo meet.

The Laird of *Drumwhaſel* again was ambitious and greedy, his greateſt care was to advance himſelf and his friends. The two *Abbots* were wiſe and modeſt. My Lady *Mar* was wiſe and ſharp, and held the King in great awe; and ſo did Mr. *George Buchuanan*. Mr. *Peter Young* was more gentle, and was loath to offend the King at any time, carrying himſelf warily, as a Man who had mind of his own weal, by keeping of his Majeſty's favour: But Mr. *George* was a *Stoick Philoſopher*, who looked not far before him. A man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in *Latin* Poeſie, much honoured in other Countries, pleaſant in Converſation, rehearſing at all occaſions Moralities ſhort and inſtructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was alſo Religious, but was eaſily abuſed, and ſo facile, that he was led by every Company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, for he ſpoke and wrote as thoſe who were about him informed him: For he was become careleſs, following in many things the vulgar opinion: For he was naturally popular, and extreamly revengeful againſt any Man who had offended him, which was his greateſt fault. For he did write deſpightful invectives againſt the Earl of *Monteeth*, for ſome particulars that were between him and the Laird of *Buchuanan*. He became the Earl of *Mortonn's* great Enemy, for that a Nagg of his chanced to be taken from his Servant during the Civil Troubles, and was bought by the Regent, who had no will to part with the ſaid Horſe, he was ſo ſore footed and ſo eaſie, that albeit Mr. *George* had oft-times required him again, he could not get him. And therefore though he had been the *Regent's* great Friend before, he became his mortal Enemy, and from that time forth ſpoke evil of him in all places, aud at all occaſions. *Drumwhaſel* alſo becauſe the *Regent* kept all the Caſualties to himſelf, and would let nothing fall to others who were about the King, became alſo his great enemy, and ſo did they all who were about his Majeſty.

The *Regent* again Ruling all at his pleaſure, made no accompt of any about the King, until a diſcreet Gentleman called Mr. *Nicholas Elphingſtoun* advertiſed him, That the King had no kindneſs for him, adviſing him, albeit too late, to beſtow part of his Gold unto ſo many of the King's Servants, as were thought to be moſt wonable, ſeeing he was envyed of many, and hated of every Man, eſpecially by thoſe who were in *Sterling* about the King. He gave to one that was in mean rank Twenty five pieces of Gold, at Twenty Pound the Piece; what he gave to others I cannot tell, but ſuch as had ſpoken ill of him before, durſt not alter their language, becauſe of the King's Wit and good Memory, who could check any that he perceived had firſt ſpoken evil, and then began to ſpeak good again. As his Majeſty had done to one of the company, alledging, That he had changed his Coat, as I was afterward informed; ſo that the *Regent* was too long in dealing part of his Gold to thoſe about his Majeſty, who increaſing in years and knowledge, ſundry Gentlemen began to look after Service, and turned On-waiters. Among others *James Stuart* Son to the Lord *Oghiltrie* a young Man of a buſie Brain, had an aſpiring Spirit, and through time won great favour and credit with his Majeſty. And though he was not well liked by thoſe of the Caſtle of *Sterling*, yet he was the more overſeen, becauſe he gave continually evil information to his Majeſty of the Earl of *Mortoun*, and ſo did alſo my Lord *Robert* Earl of *Orkny*, who had been warded, and hardly handled by the *Regent* for ſome double dealing with *Denmark*, as was alledged.

The *Regent* being in this manner brought in diſgrace with his Majeſty; when he was upon the height of the wheel, the Earls of *Arguile* and *Athol* were ſecretly practiſed, and drawn to *Sterling* by *Drumwhaſel* with the conſent of *Alexander Areskine*, Maſter of *Mar*, and Mr. *George Buchuanan*; by whoſe advice and counſel, his Majeſty was eaſily moved to depoſe the *Regent* from his Office: who yielded eaſilier thereto, then any Man would have believed, againſt the opinion of his friends, retiring himſelf to the Houſe of *Lockleven* within the *Logh*, for the ſurety of his perſon, until he might underſtand what was like to follow thereupon, and what might be the next beſt for him to do.

The King's Majeſty having attained unto the Age of   years, ordained a Council to ſit at *Edinbrugh* for ordering the Affairs of the Realm. The Earl of *Athol* was made Chancellour, becauſe the Lord *Glams* was a little before ſlain in *Sterling* by the Earl of *Grauford* as was ſuſpected, though he denied the deed, and purged himſelf thereof, as far as he could. The Earl of *Arguile*, and the Maſter of *Mar* ſtayed in *Sterling* with the King's Majeſty.

During the time that this new Council ſate in *Edinbrugh*, the Earl of *Mortoun* who was quiet in *Lockleven*, making the walks of his Garden even; his mind was in the mean time occupied in crooked paths, plotting how to be brought again to be Maſter of the Court, which was accompliſhed upon a night at midnight. When he came to the Gates of the Caſtle of *Sterling* they were opened unto him by the two *Abbots*, and a Faction that they had drawn in there with them. Albeit the Maſter of *Mar*, and Earl of *Arguile* made what reſiſtance they could, where the Maſter's eldeſt Son dyed in the throng, yet the enterpriſers prevailed, and brought in again the Earl of *Mortoun*, and put out the Earl of *Arguile*, the Maſter of *Mar*, *Drumwhaſel* and ſuch others as they miſliked, and ſo made a new change at Court. Where the Earl of *Mortoun* handled the matter ſo diſcreetly, and moderately as he could, that the alteration ſhould not appear to be over ſharp or violent. The new choſen Council ſcattered incontinently, ſome of them retiring home, and ſome joined with the Earl of *Mortoun*, hoping never to ſee a turn again.

About this time came out of *France* my Lord of *Aubonie*, who was afterward made Duke of *Lennox*, who was Brother's Son to the Earl of *Lennox*, and obtained afterward great credit and favour.

James Stuart of *Oghiltrie*, of whom I formerly made mention, aſſiſted him through proceſs of time, to perſwade the King's Majeſty to deſire to ride out of *Sterling*, and make a progreſs among the reſt of his Subjects, which the Earl of *Mortoun* could not reſiſt, ſuppoſing that it lay in his power to frame the Court at his pleaſure. For by his great wealth he was reſolved to gain ſo many as he judged neceſſary, and ſo by the multitude of his friends to bear out the buſineſs; however the Court was ruled after he had obtained a diſcharge, and alliance of his intromiſſion. For though during the time that he was *Regent*, he was always ſtrongeſt about the King, but my Lord *Aubony* and *James Stewart* were moſt in favour, who by their continual rounding in the King's Ear againſt the Earl of *Mortoun*, ingendered at laſt a greater diſlike in the King of him, then he had before. And as *James Stuart* was the ſtirrer up of the other, ſo afterward, when he found the time convenient, he took occaſion to accuſe the ſaid Earl before the Council of the late Kings murther. Whereupon the Earl of *Mortoun* was made Priſoner, and ſent firſt to the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, and afterward to the Caſtle of *Dumbartoun*, which was thought ſtrange in reſpect of his many friends that were in Court for the time, who were then found to be but friends to his fortune. For he was loved by none, and envied and hated by many, ſo that they all looked through their fingers to ſee his fall.

England was alſo angry at him for the time, becuſe of his ſlowneſs to anſwer their turns, which they had hoped for at his hands, having put the King and Country in his power. Yet they made ſome offer to aſſiſt him, which occaſioned to haſten his ruin. For they ſent down Seventeen Companies to the Borders, boaſting to ſend a greater number, and to declare open War, in caſe the Earl of *Mortoun* was not ſet at liberty, and the Lord *Aubony* put out of *Scotland*. Mr. *Randolph* was ſent in with this Ambaſſage. His Majeſty again having theſe two young Councellors about him, who knew of no perils, raiſed a Taxation to pay Soldiers, and cauſed to make a Proclamation for every Man to be in readineſs upon a call, which moved the *Engliſh* to retire, and leave off endeavouring any more his aſſiſtance, encouraging thereby ſuch as were deadly Enemies to the Earl of *Mortoun* to ride to *Dumbartoun* with a thouſand raiſed and hired Men, together with their own friends, to bring the Earl of *Mortoun* back again to *Edinbrugh* to undergo an *Aſſize*. Some of the Earl's friends convened to take him out of their hands, but found not themſelves ſtrong enough. They might have done it, had it not been the Forces which had been newly levied, occaſioned by the threat'nings which *England* had made. Being brought to *Edinbrugh*, he found few friends to appear or act for him. His Gold and Silver was tranſported long before, by his Natural Son *James Douglas*, and one of his Servants called *John MacMorran*. It was firſt carried in Barrels, and afterward hid in ſome ſecret parts, part whereof was given to be kept by ſome who were lookt upon as his friends, who made ill accompt of it again, ſo that the moſt part thereof lighted in bad hands, and himſelf was ſo deſtitute of mony, that when he went through the Street to the *Tolbooth* to undergo his *Aſſize*, he was compelled to borrow Twenty ſhillings to diſtribute to the poor, who asked Alms of him for God's ſake. The *Aſſize* condemned him to death, as being Airt and Pairt in the *King's murther*, and as being of Councel with the Earl of *Bothwel*, who brought him out of baniſhment, when he was abſent for the ſlaughter of *David Rixio*. He granted that he was made privy thereto, but had no hand in deviſing thereof: And as concerning the young King, he owned that he purpoſed to ſend him to *England* for his weal, that he might the rather obtain his Right to the Crown of *England*, being within the Country, and brought up among them. He dyed reſolutely, and had ended more perfectly, if he had declared and confeſſed his Worldly practiſes and fetches to nouriſh the Civil Troubles, partly at the devotion of *England*, and partly for his own particular profit, during the Government of the firſt three *Regents*, which occaſioned great blood-ſheding that commonly cries to Heaven for vengeance.

During the King's young years, the partialities were ſo great, and the whole Country ſo diſturbed by the two ſeveral parties, who alledged to fight and ſtrive for the King and the Queen, being then Captive in *England*, and the King yet very young; that many perceived them to be but factious, ambitious, avaritious, greedy, worldly, wretched perſons. Both parties were craftily ſtirred up, and kept in trouble by one only Faction in *England*, who had that Queens Ear, intending the wrack as well of our King as Queen, to advance ſome of their friends to inherit the Crown of *England*, which occaſioned a great out-cry againſt our fooliſh contentions.

After that the Earl of *Mortoun*, the laſt of the four *Regents* was depoſed, the King's Majeſty, being young, took the Government into his own hands, my Lord of *Aubony* being made Lord *Dalkieth*, and afterward Duke of *Lennox*, was chief about his Majeſty, and *James Stuart* formerly mentioned; who afterward took unto himſelf the ſtyle, and then the Earldom of *Arran*, thinking that he had done great Service, and deſerved well for accuſing and wracking the Earl of *Mortoun*, he married the Earl of *March* his Relict.

The *Duke* was of nature upright, juſt, and gentle, but wanted experience in the ſtate of the Country. At the firſt he was wholly guided by the ſaid *James Stuart* and his Wife, who both began to envy him, and therefore they endeavoured how they might caſt him off, that they might attain to the ſole management of Affairs: And for this end they gave him bad advice, and ſiniſter informations againſt ſundry of his beſt friends. And being likewiſe Educated a Papiſt, and ſuſpected to be at the Duke of *Guiſe*'s devotion, and therefore a dangerous Man to be about his Majeſty; the whole Country was ſtirred up againſt him; *England* by their Ambaſſadour helping to kindle the fire. Mr. *David Macgil*, and Mr. *Henry Keer* were his chief Councellors, both wiſe enough for their own profit, but careleſs of his ſtanding, and therefore not fit to counſel him who was his Majeſty's greateſt favourite. At the inſtigation and miſ-information of the Earl of *Arran*, and his Lady, he firſt did caſt off his true friend the Maſter of *Mar* Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, and after that Sir *William Stuart* Captain of *Dumbartoun*, and then *Alexander Clerk* Provoſt of *Edinbrugh*, and the Earl of *Gaurie* Treaſurer. The reſt of the Nobility were alſo diſſatisfied, to ſee theſe two young Lords only in favour with the King, finding that they both did aim at Noblemens lives, for their Lands. And albeit ſome of them miſliked the Earl of *Mortoun*'s proceedings, yet they judged the taking of his life an hard preparative. They likewiſe ſuſpected Religion to be in hazard, the one being a Papiſt, and the other a ſcorner of all Religion. They thought that from two ſuch Counſellors, no wholſome advice could proceed for the peace of the Country, and the eſtabliſhment of Religion. Therefore a number of them conſulted together, to diſplace both the Duke, and the Earl of *Arran*, to ſend the one to *France*, and to remove the other from Court. In the mean time, they reſolved to throng themſelves in about the King, and to make a reformation of the abuſes, and to inviron his Majeſty with their Forces, ſo ſoon as he came to *Dumfarmling*, whither he had appointed to come at his return out of *Athol*, where he was for the time ahunting, and to preſent to him this Supplication.

"IT may appear ſtrange to your Majeſty that we your moſt humble and faithful Subjects, are here convened beyond your expectation, and without your knowledge; but after your Majeſty hath heard the urgent occaſion that hath preſſed us hereto, your Majeſty will not marvel at this our honeſt, lawful and neceſſary enterpriſe.

"Sir, for the dutiful Reverence that we owe unto your Majeſty, and for that we abhor to attempt any thing that may ſeem diſpleaſing to your Majeſty, we have for the ſpace of two years ſuffered ſuch falſe Accuſations, Calumnies, Oppreſſions and Perſecutions, by means of the Duke of *Lennox*, and him who is called Earl of *Arran*, that the like Inſolencies and Enormities were never heretofore born within *Scotland*. Which wrongs, albeit they were moſt intolerable, yet when they only touched us in particular we comported with them patiently, ever attending when it ſhould pleaſe your Majeſty to give a remedy thereto.

"But ſeeing the perſons aforeſaid have plainly deſigned to trouble the whole Body of the Common-Wealth, as well the Miniſters of the bleſſed Evangel, as the true Profeſſors thereof, but in ſpecial, that number of Noblemen, Barrons, Burgeſſes and Commonalty, who did moſt worthily behave themſelves in your Majeſties Service, during your youth; whom principally and only they moleſt, and againſt whom they uſe moſt extremity and rigour of Laws, oft-times moſt ſiniſtrouſly perverting the ſame for their deſtruction, ſo that one part of theſe your beſt Subjects are Exiled, another part Tormented, and put to queſtions, which they are not in Law obliged to anſwer; and withal execute with partiality and injuſtice all your Laws: And if any eſcape their barbarous fury, they can have no acceſs to your Majeſty, but are falſly calumniated, and debarred from your preſence, and kept out of your favour.

"Papiſts and moſt notable Murtherers are called home daily, and reſtored to their former honours and heritages, and oftimes highly rewarded with the Offices and Poſſeſſions of your moſt faithful Servants.

"Finally your Eſtate-Royal is not Governed by the Council of your Nobility, as your moſt worthy Progenitors uſed to do, but at the pleaſure of the foreſaid perſons, who enterpriſe nothing but as they are directed by the Biſhops of *Glaſcow* and *Roſs*, your denounced Rebels, having with them adjoyned in their ordinary Councels the *Popes Nuntio*, with the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and ſuch other of the Papiſts of *France* as endeavour to ſubvert the true Religion, and to bring your Majeſty in diſcredit with your Subjects. They travel to cauſe you negotiate and traffick with your Mother, without the advice of your Eſtates, perſwading your Majeſty to be reconciled with her, and to aſſociate her conjunctly with you in the Authority-Royal, meaning nothing other thereby but to convict us of Uſurpation and Treaſon.

"And ſo having theſe your beſt Subjects out of the way, who with the defence of your Authority maintained the true Religion as two things united and inſeparable, what elſe could have followed but the wrack and deſtruction of both?

"For concluſion, your whole native Country, for which Sir you muſt give an account to the Eternal God, as we muſt be anſwerable to your Majeſty, is ſo perturbed and altered, and the true Religion, the commonwealth, your Eſtate and Perſon are in no leſs danger then when you were delivered out of the hands of the cruel Murtherers of your Father, who they were we will not inſiſt on at this preſent.

"Sir, beholding theſe great dangers to be eminent and at hand, without ſpeedy help, and perceiving your noble perſon in ſuch hazard, the preſervation whereof is more precious to us then our own lives, finding alſo no appearance that your Majeſty was forewarned hereof, but like to periſh before you could ſee the peril, we thought that we could not be anſwerable to our Eternal God, neither faithful Subjects to your Majeſty, if according to our ability we prevented not this preſent diſtreſs, preſerving your Majeſty from the ſame.

"For this effect with all dutiful humility and obedience, we your Majeſties true Subjects, are here convened, deſiring your Majeſty in the name of God, and for the love you bear to his true Religion, to your Country, and Commonwealth, and as you would ſee the tranquillity of your own Eſtate, to retire your ſelf to ſome part of the Country, where your Majeſties perſon may be moſt ſafely preſerved, and you Nobility ſecured, who are under hazard of Lands, Life, and Heritages. And then your Majeſty ſhall ſee the diſloyalties, falſhoods, and Treaſons of the perſons aforeſaid, evidently proved and declared to their faces, to the glory of God, advancement of his true Religion, your Majeſties preſervation and honour, and the deliverance of your troubled Common weal and Country, and to their perpetual ignominy and ſhame.

At this Highland hunting, his Majeſty was very meanly accompanied: The Duke of *Lennox* tarried for the time at *Dalkieth*; the new Earl of *Arran* was at *Kinneel*, many of the Councel were appointed to hold Juſtice *Airs* in divers Shires of the Country. I was ordained to hold the Juſtice *Air* of *Weſt Lauthian* at *Edinburgh* with my Lord *Newbottle*, Mr. *David Macgill*, and Mr. *John Sharp*. There came to my Bed timely in the Morning a Gentleman, alledging that I had formerly done him Courteſies, which till now he was never able to recompence, that he would make me the inſtrument of ſaving the Kings Majeſty my Maſter, out of the Hands of thoſe who were upon an enterprize to take and keep him. I ſaid, I could hardly truſt that, but I feared that the Duke of *Lennox* might be in hazard, who was gone to *Glaſcow* to hold Juſtice *Airs*, becauſe of the hatred which I knew was born him, eſpecially for the maintaing the two Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow*. He anſwered, They will lay hands firſt on the King's Majeſty, and then the Duke and the Earl of *Arran* dare no more be ſeen, their inſolency and miſbehavior being the cauſe of all the preſent diſorders, for there is an Enterpriſe to preſent a Supplication againſt him to his Majeſty. After he had told me this news, he deſired me to conceal his name, though to tell the matter to his Majeſty. He ſaid, this turn would be done in ten days, and as I ſtarted up to put on my Cloaths, he ſlipt to the Door with a ſhort farewel.

Becauſe the Duke was at *Dalkieth*, I did ride thither, and ſhewed him the whole matter, adviſing him to ride himſelf to his Majeſty with this Advertiſement for his own ſecurity, but he choſe rather to direct a Gentleman with all poſſible diligence to his Majeſty, willing me alſo to write unto the Earl of *Gaurie*, for the Gentleman had not named him to me with the reſt of the Enterprizers, either out of forgetfulneſs, or elſe becauſe he was but lately won to that purpoſe by the Laird of *Drumwhaſel*, who had aſſured him that the Duke of *Lennox* had determined to ſlay him at the firſt meeting, perſuading the Earl upon this Ground to joyn with the reſt of the Noblemen, who were determined to reform the Eſtate. Unto the which invented Advertiſement, he too eaſily gave Credit, and ſo joyned with the reſt of the Nobility, who were minded to preſent the forenamed ſupplication to the King, at his coming to *Dumfarmling*.

It is certain that the Duke of *Lennox* was led by evil Councel, and wrong Informations, whereby he was moved to meddle in ſuch hurtful and dangerous Courſes, that the reſt of the Nobility became zealous of his Intentions, and feared their Eſtates. As for the Earl of *Arran*, they deteſted his Proceedings, and eſteemed him the worſt and moſt inſolent inſtrument that could be found out, to wrack King, Kirk, and Country. The Duke had been tolerable, had he hapned upon as honeſt Councellors, as he was well inclined of himſelf: but he wanted Experience, and was no ways verſed in the State of the Country, nor brought up in our Religion, which by time he might have been brought to have imbraced. But the Earl of *Arran* was a Scorner of Religion, Preſumptious, Ambitious, Covetous, Careleſs of the Commonwealth, a diſpiſer of the Nobility, and of all honeſt men; ſo that every man was expecting a ſuddain Change which ſhould have been made in *Dumfarling*, in preſenting the above ſpecified ſupplication

plication. But what moved the Lords to ſurpriſe His Majeſty within the Houſe of *Huntingtoun*, I know not. If it was not to imbark the Earl of *Gaury*, whoſe Houſe it was more deeply in their bond, or that they, fearing their enterpriſe to be diſcovered, made the greater haſt, and ſtayed His Majeſty in that place, which was afterward called the Road of *Ruthven*.

After that the Duke of *Lennox* was advertiſed of this enterpriſe, he ſent for the Earl of *Arran* who was peaceably paſſing his time in *Kinweel*: He took in hand to ride out and ſave the King, boaſting that he would chaſe all the Lords into Mouſe-holes, but he was chaſed and ſaved himſelf in the Houſe of *Ruthven*, where they had ſhortly made an end of him, had not the Earl of *Gaurie* interceeded for his life, whoſe deſtiny it was to keep him alive to be his own wrack afterwards. The Duke of *Lennox* being advertiſed that His Majeſty was in their hands, retired himſelf to *Dumbartoun*, and His Majeſty was conveyed to *Stirling* and there retained.

The King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* being informed that the King was taken and kept in Cuſtody, ſent each of them an Ambaſſador to this Country to comfort his Majeſty, to ſee what the matter meant, and to offer him their beſt aſſiſtance in caſe he required the ſame, and declared that he had been taken and kept againſt his will. But after great thanks given unto the ſaid Ambaſſadors, the King willed them to declare unto their Princes, that he was very well ſatisfied with the Lords who were about him, and that they were all his own Subjects, willing to obey him, but that they had conceived ſome hard apprehenſions of the Duke of *Lennox*, and ſome others who had been about him before. Albeit his heart was full of ſorrow and diſpleaſure as he told himſelf afterward, and even then likewiſe to Mr. *Cairy* Couſin to the Queen of *England*, who whiſpered in His Majeſties Ear, requeſting him to tell the plain verity, which he ſhould keep ſecret from Mr. *Bows* his Companion, and alſo from the Lords, and ſhall only ſhew his inward mind privily to his Miſtreſs the Queen; yet it neither appeared by the ſucceſs to have been kept ſecret, nor did that Queen make any further inſtance for his liberty.

The Lords in the mean time thought meet to hold a Councel, to reſolve what courſe to take, wherein it was determined that their enterpriſe was good ſervice to his Majeſty, the Kirk, and Common-Wealth, which His Majeſty granted alſo to be true: whereupon an Act of Council was formed. At that ſame time, the general Aſſembly of the Kirk was held at *Edinbrugh*, to the which his Majeſty was moved to ſend two Commiſſioners, to teſtify that he had allowed for good ſervice the ſaid Lords enterpriſe, deſiring likewiſe the Kirk to find it good for their parts, and to ordain the Miniſters and Commiſſioners of every Shire to publiſh the ſame to their Pariſhioners, and to get the principal Gentlemens Subſcriptions to maintain the ſame. Notwithſtanding of all this, His Majeſty took the matter further to heart then any man would have believed. He lamented his miſhandling to ſundry Noblemen, and others, and at length acquainted ſome of them that he intended to relieve himſelf through time out of their hands who held him as Captive. He deſired ſuch as he truſted in, to aſſiſt him with their counſel, and help.

The Lords again who were joined together for the Reformation of the State, being rid of the Duke of *Lennox*, who had paſt through *England* to *France*, where he ſhortly after dyed of a ſickneſs contracted through diſpleaſure. And being alſo rid of the Earl of *Arran*, whom they kept Captive in the cuſtody of the Earl of *Gaury*, they retired themſelves from the Court to their houſes, that his Majeſty ſhould not think himſelf any way deprived of his liberty by them: for they had got ſome intelligence of his inward grief, for his taking and retaining. Whereupon his Majeſty takes occaſion to appoint a Convention to be holden in *St. Andrews* for ſome *Engliſh* Affairs, after the returning of Mr. *John Colvil*, and Colonel *Steward*, who both had been ſent thither, and had not agreed well concerning their Commiſſion, having brought back again different anſwers. To the which Convention his Majeſty by Miſſives invited ſome of the Nobility, but he called none of the Lords thereto who had lately left him, ſuppoſing that perceiving themſelves ſo far ſlighted, they would not come unwritten for; and that way he thought he might ſlip himſelf out of their hands, and retain about him ſuch Lords as he had written for, to wit, the Earls of *Arguile*, *Huntly*, *Montroſe*, *Crauford*, *Rotheſs*, and the Earl of *March*, who was an indweller in *St. Andrews* for the time, and the Earl of *Gaury* of whom he judged himſelf aſſured, though for ſome reſpects he would not imploy him till afterwards, leſt the reſt of his aſſociates ſhould alledge that he had left them unhandſomly. For the ſaid Earl had repented him, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be drawn in by *Drumwhaſel* to join with the reſt, after that he had received ſure information that the Duke of *Lennox* had not laid for his ſlaughter, as was alledged. Therefore he repented his folly, and offered at all occaſions to help to ſet him at liberty.

So his Majeſty thinking himſelf aſſured of all theſe Noblemen, the day appointed for the Convention drawing near, it pleaſed him to ſend Colonel *Stuart* to my houſe, ſhewing me that his Majeſty having ſomewhat to do of great concernment, he had directed him unto me as to one of his moſt faithful Servants, of whoſe fidelity and foreſight he had formerly had ſufficient proof, by the true warning I had made him before the alteration. As a ſworn Gentleman of his Chamber, he deſired that I would help him to his liberty, which he was determined to attain at his being at *St. Andrews*, whither he was reſolved to go ſhortly to a Convention, to which he deſired my aſſiſtance and advice, his Majeſty being minded, as he ſaid, to follow my counſel ſo long as he lived, willing me not to refuſe any ſervice that his Majeſty would demand of me at meeting. This Commiſſion was to me very unpleaſant, for I had taken my leave of the Court, as being wearied with the many alterations I had ſeen, both at home, and in forreign Courts, having got great trouble and damage to my ſelf for other mens cauſes. Therefore I had determined to be no more concerned in publick affairs, but to lead a quiet, contemplative life the reſt of my days. This deſire of my Prince and Maſter, was like to put me from this reſolution. In this perplexity I had recourſe by humble prayer to God, ſo to direct my actings as they might tend to his glory, and to the weal of my Prince and Country. And thereafter according to my dutiful obedience, I went unto his Majeſty. When I came to him at *Falkland*, he told me of his reſolution, lamenting his hard ſtate, and miſhandling by his own Subjects, and what diſpleaſure he had taken, and that he was thought but a Beaſt by all neighbour Princes, for ſuffering ſo many indignities.

I again diſcourſed unto his Majeſty about the common eſtate of all Countries, during their Prince's minority, the Nobility ſtriving for ſtate, and for the chief handling, whereby to advance themſelves and their friends. As did the Houſe of *Guiſe* during the young age of King *Francis* the Second: The Prince of *Conde*, during the Reign of King *Charles* the Second of *France*; and alſo the King of *Navarr*: Likewiſe the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Northumberland* during the youth of King *Edward* the ſixth of *England*. And as well in the Queen his Mothers time, as in his own time, ſome aiming to advance their own affairs, ſome to defend and maintain their own Eſtate, engaged in divers enterpriſes and ſtrifes, none of the parties bearing any evil will to his Majeſty, but every one being in love with him, and deſiring to be neareſt to his perſon. And albeit ſome of them be oft-times tranſported, either by ambition, greedineſs or vengeance, to out-ſhoot themſelves, and forget their duty; yet Princes who are wiſe and come to perfect age, have ever found it their intereſt to pardon, and overſee all ſuch faults, as have been committed at ſuch times by too great a number of Subjects. Now when *Charles* the Ninth agreed with the Prince of *Conde*, all his former offences were reckoned for good Service. And as your Majeſty hath done in agreeing with ſo many of your Nobility, as were in fear that the Duke of *Lennox*, and Earl of *Arran*, would wrong both them, and the Country as they did alledge.

Now Sir, if your Majeſty ſhall ſlip from them, they will think their Eſtate in greater danger then ever, not from your ſelf, but from ſome of their unfriends, who may fall in again about you. And albeit they be preſently abſent, they have both a guard and ſome of their friends preſently about your Majeſty, and ſo they will not fail to keep the Convention, and be as ſoon at *St. Andrews*, as the other Lords whom your Majeſty hath invited by Letters. For it ſtands them upon their lives and fortunes, to be ſtill chief about your Majeſty. Therefore ſaving your Majeſties own pleaſure, I judge you preſently in a far better and ſafer condition, then you will be by abandoning them, in caſe you get it not well effected, wherein there will be found greater difficulty, then your Majeſty hath yet deeply conſidered, as the importance of the caſe requires.

All their diſſuaſions had no force to ſtay his Majeſty from his former deliberation, as having taken up a great diſpleaſure, and a Princely courage, either to liberate himſelf fully, or dye in the attempt. But for to follow the example of other wiſe Princes, as he had begun himſelf to allow for good ſervice, the enterpriſe called the *Road* of *Ruthven*; ſo he reſolved that being at liberty, he would make a general act of Oblivion for all by-gone faults, and errours committed by his Nobility, and Subjects during his minority, and from that time forth to be as a Father to the Country, and a juſt and equal Prince to all his Subjects; that no Man's Life, no Man's Land, Goods, nor Office ſhould be taken from them. That as the fitteſt and moſt effectual way for ſetling Peace in the Country, he would give ſatisfaction to the Church, in their deſires. That he would keep about his Perſon the moſt vertuous and diſcreet of his Nobility, and Gentry, who could be found. His Maieſty ingaged alſo to me, to be ſecret; conſtant, and counſelable.

For the better management then of his Majeſty's deſign, it was thought expedient, that he ſhould be in *St. Andrews* ſome few days before the Convention, that being once there; Proclamation might be iſſued out, to forbid any Nobleman or other, to come to the Convention without being expreſly called by Letter from his Majeſty. For this end it was adviſed, that the Earl of *March*, ſhould invite his Majeſty to be at *St. Andrews* two or three days before the Convention, by reaſon of his preparation of wild meat,and other fleſhes,that would ſpoil in caſe his Majeſty came not to make good chear with him ſome days before. Whereupon his Majeſty went forward, contrary to my opinion, and the judgment of ſome others about him, who though we were ſenſible of the inconveniencies which might follow, durſt not be ſo bold as to ſtay him, though we told his Majeſty our opinion, that we judged it was hazardous for him to ride till the Lords, who had been advertiſed to attend him, might come forward. Nevertheleſs he went on, and advertiſed the Earl of *March*, the Provoſt of *St. Andrews*, and other Barons to attend him at *Darſie*. Where meeting them, his Majeſty thought himſelf at liberty, expreſſing great joy, like a Bird flown out of a Cage, paſſing his time in Hawking by the way, after his meeting them, thinking himſelf ſure enough, albeit I thought his eſtate far ſurer when he was in *Falkland*. For when he came to *St. Andrews*, he lodged in an old Inn, a very open part, the yard dikes being his greateſt ſtrength, few of the Lords he had written for being yet come, except only the Earl of *Crauford*, who was near.

In the mean time I perceived the folly, and went to the *Provoſt* of the Town, deſiring to know what forces he had within the Town at his devotion ? He anſwered, very few, and thoſe not to be truſted to. I asked who was in the Caſtle ? He told me, the Biſhop, with whom I dealt incontinently, to have the Caſtle in readineſs to receive his Majeſty, which he promiſed to do. But when I returned to his Majeſty, believing that the Proclamation had been made, That no Man ſhould come to the Convention, but ſuch as had been written for, I found that the Abbot of *Dumfarmling* was arrived out of *Lockleven*, and the Earl of *Marſhal* out of *Dundee*. The Earl of *Mar* was ſtill with his Majeſty, but all the Lords were advertiſed with diligence from *Falkland*, that his Majeſty was ſuddenly gone for *St. Andrews*, deſiring them to make haſt to go thither, elſe they would be late. The ſaid Abbot for his part was ſoon enough there, and behaved himſelf with great diſſimulation, extolling his Majeſties enterpriſe, ſo that he gain'd ſo much credit as to caſt down all their devices, who were upon the King's ſide, though he was a ſpecial doer for the contrary party. He ſaid it was not fit by Proclamation to ſtay the Nobility, but rather to write Miſſives to them, not to come accompanied with any more then two perſons with every Nobleman.

When his Majeſty told me this, I was very angry, and ſhewed him that this was the ready way to put him again in their hands, without thanks, from whom he had lately fled, aſſuring his Majeſty that they were coming forward very ſtrong, and in Arms, and would be ſooner there, then thoſe Lords he had written for: adding, that they might come in quietly themſelves, and cauſe their Companies to come in by two's and three's to the Town, whereas it had been better to let them come in all together, that their whole Forces might have been ſeen. Yet his Majeſty was loath to enter within the Caſtle that night for his greater ſecurity, until it was very late after Supper, giving thoſe that were there already time to adviſe, and to enterpriſe that ſame night to take him again, in caſe he had gone to the Abby yards to walk, as they had perſwaded him, till the Caſtle was prepared. And ſome were already entred the ſaid yard for that effect in Armour, whereof I had ſome ſuſpicion, and therefore inſtantly advertiſed his Majeſty, who thereupon changed his reſolution and paſt by the yard Gate to the Caſtle.

The next day the whole Lords, as well written for, as unwritten for, arrived at St. *Andrews*; the King's Lords quite without Armour, the other Lords ſtrongly Armed. The Earl of *Marſhal*, and *Mar*, and the Abbot of *Dumfarmling* lodged within the Caſtle with his Majeſty, where the crafty *Abbot* counſelled the King to let none of the Lords come within the Caſtle accompanied with more then twelve perſons. He ever appeared to favour the King's intention, and therefore this crafty councel was followed. The next morning the Caſtle was full of men, and thoſe of the contrary party being well Armed, had already taken the Stair-heads and Galleries, reſolving again to be Maſters of the King, and all the reſt, which being too late perceived, diligence was incontinently uſed, to bring within the Caſtle all the Earl of *March* his Gentlemen, with the Lairds of *Dairſy*, *Balcomy*, *Segie*, *Forret*, *Barns*, and others, with ſo many of the Town as were at the Provoſts devotion, which for that night prevented the foreſaid deſign.

The Earl of *Gaury* was alſo a great ſtay in that matter: for albeit he came thither as ſtrong, and as angry as any of the Lords, yet he was advertiſed of the King's good will towards him, and ſo was drawn from the reſt. That dangerous day being thus paſt without any harm done, the next day ſuch order was taken, as his Majeſty was Maſter of the Caſtle, following no more the ſaid *Abbot*'s counſel, but declared his moderate intentions to all the Lords, to the *Fiffe* Barons, and Towns upon the Coaſt ſide, who had been ſent for, and likewiſe to the Miniſters and Maſters of the Colledge: Namely, *That albeit he had been detained againſt his Will for ſome time, yet he intended not to impute it as a Crime, nor to remember any thing done in his minority, but that he would paſs an Act of Oblivion as to all that was paſt; ſatisfie the demands of the Church; agree parties among whom there were differences, and to carry himſelf to all his Subjects equally, knowing none of them to bear him any evil will, and that they had been driven to enterpriſe the thing they had done, by the force of their Factious partialities:* uſing many other ſuch words of clemency and diſcretion, to all their contentments. Thereafter he ordained four Lords, two of every faction, to retire them for a while, to wit, The Earls of *Angus*, *Bothwel*, *Huntly* and *Crauford*, retaining all the reſt about him as indifferent for his ordinary Council, by whoſe advice he was reſolved to ſettle his eſtate, and thereafter to bring again to Court the whole Lords above-named. Then his Majeſty called for me before a number of the ſaid Lords, and gave me greater commendation and thanks then I had merited, as being the only inſtrument, under God, of his liberty. His Majeſty cauſed alſo to make a Proclamation, conform to his former promiſes, and moderate intention: But I took no pleaſure to be praiſed in preſence of ſo many, anſwering to his Majeſty, *That I had already diſpleaſed all thoſe who were upon the purpoſe of his detention.*

Now matters being ſettled in appearance, and this deſign ſucceſsfully ended, ſome of the King's Lords, who had been ſlow in coming (and when they were come finding the Lords of the contrary Faction ſtrong and in Armour) denyed that they knew any thing of his Majeſties enterpriſe, laying the whole burthen upon Colonel *Stuart* and me. But when they ſaw appearance of a proſperous ſucceſs, they took the matter ſtoutly upon them, and began in plain Council to tell how long they had been upon the counſel of that enterpriſe with his Majeſty, and how long waiting for his advertiſement.

Of a truth his Majeſty was of a merciful mind, and gently inclined toward all the Nobility, intending to win all their hearts by his own diſcreet behaviour, and to that effect he went firſt to the Houſe of *Ruthven*, to let the Country ſee that he was entirely reconciled with the Earl of *Gaury*. Where after he had Royally entertained his Majeſty, he fell down upon his knees, lamenting that his Majeſty ſhould have been retained in that unhappy houſe at his laſt being there, which, he ſaid, fell out rather by accident, then deliberation, only for the ſafety of the Earl of *Arran's* life. Alledging, that he knew no other thing, then that at his Majeſty's being at *Dumfarmling*, they were minded to preſent him an humble Supplication, asking pardon for that accidental fault, which his Majeſty graciouſly promiſed never to impute to him, knowing how blindly he was brought upon it by the practiſes of others.

In the mean time *James Stuart* Earl of *Arran*, had obtained the favour to be warded in *Kinneal*, his own houſe, and ſent and Congratulated his Majeſties liberty, begging that he might have acceſs to come and kiſs his hand, which was plainly refuſed. Then he ſent daily his opinion, and advices to his Majeſty, how to proceed againſt divers of the Nobility, and others; adviſing to bring back to Court the Earls of *Huntly*, and *Crauford*, which was too eaſily condeſcended to by the Earls of *Arguile*, and *Montroſs*, only the Earl of *Gaury* reſiſted, alledging that the Earls of *Bothwel* and *Angus* were put in hopes to be brought in with them, or as ſoon as they. But the equality expected, was ſoon forgot, which moved the Earl of *Marſhal* and others to retire to their houſes. The *Abbot* of *Dumfarmling* remained ſtill at Court, and to curry favour of Colonel *Stuart*, then Captain of the Guard, he gave him a Purſe and thirty pieces of Gold at four pound the piece, which pieces the Colonel diſtributed to ſo many of the Gaurd who bored them, and ſet them like Targets upon their Knapſacks, and the Purſe was born upon a Spear point like an Enſign. The *Abbot* ſhortly after was warded in *Lockleven*; Mr. *John Covil*, the Laird of *Cleſh*, and *Drumwhaſel* were alſo warded by the advice of the Earl of *Arran* and his Wife, who continually ſolicited his Majeſty, that they might come to Court. And at length I was requeſted by his Agent *James Stuart* to deal with his Majeſty to permit the ſaid Earl to come again to the Court: For he ſaid, that his Majeſty was favourable enough, and that the Earls of *Arguile*, *Huntly*, *Crauford*, and *Montroſe*, had not only given their conſent, but that the Earls of *Arguile* and *Montroſe* had ſaid unto his Majeſty, that they would ride themſelves and fetch him; only the Earl of *Gaury* reſiſted; and that the King had ſhewn him, that he would do nothing therein without my conſent and advice. I anſwered, That his Majeſty needed not my conſent, if himſelf and ſo many Noblemen were content. He replied again, That his Majeſty repoſed more upon me at that time, then upon all his Council, as his Majeſty had ſhewn him; and that he would not bring him without my conſent. Whereupon I went unto his Majeſty, and ſhew'd him what language the Earl of *Arran's* Servant had to me, concerning his Maſter's coming to Court, and that his Majeſty laid too great a burthen upon me, to ſay that he would do nothing therein without my conſent. Thereupon his Majeſty took me to the Gallary of *Falkland*, lamenting as he had been informed the loſs of many of his beſt friends, as the Earls of *Lennox*, *Athol*, and Duke of *Lennox*: And now, ſays he, They will not permit the Earl of *Arran*, who hazarded his life to relieve me, to come and ſee me; he deſired me to acquaint him, what might be the occaſion they hated him ſo much. My anſwer was, That to tell the verity perilled my ſelf, to conceal the truth indangered his Majeſty. He would needs know my meaning therein. I ſaid, The Earl of *Arran* is one of the worſt inſtruments can come about you, whereof your Majeſty hath had too ſure a proof, his miſ-behaviour being the only occaſion of the late interpriſe, and if he ever be again admitted about your Majeſty the like or worſe will follow. Thereupon its dangerous to my ſelf to acquaint your Majeſty herewith, ſeeing it will occaſion him to be my deadly Enemy, if he ever get notice thereof. Then his Majeſty deſired only to let him come and kiſs his hand, promiſing he ſhould not tarry, intreating me to deal with my Lord of *Gaury*; that he would alſo grant that he might but once come to Court, and he ſhould incontinently return to his houſe without any ſtay. I ſaid, I ſhould cauſe him to yield to his Majeſties pleaſure.

In the mean time I took occaſion to declare unto his Majeſty, how that many great Princes are wracked by their Ambitious Counſellors, who will rule all alone, taking upon them a greater burthen then they can bear: for remedy whereof his Majeſty ſhould ſpend every day but one hour to hear a choſen number of honeſt Councellors reaſon upon his affairs, then himſelf to give his opinion what he thinks fitteſt to be done, as the King of *France* uſed to do. Which his Majeſty granted very willingly, and ſo long as he kept that order, by the ordinary Council days his turns went rightly forward. The whole Lords who aſſiſted his Majeſty were of his Council, Sir *Robert* my Brother, Colonel *Stuart*, the Laird of *Seigie*, and my ſelf.

But as ſoon as the Earl of *Arran* got acceſs to his Majeſty, he not only ſtayed at Court againſt promiſe, but alſo within a ſhort time altered all this way of procedour, with a deſign to draw the management of all publick affairs to himſelf. At his firſt entry, he carried himſelf very humbly, for after he had kiſſed his Majeſties hand, he embraced me and kiſſed my cheek, giving me many thanks in his Majeſties preſence, alledging, That the whole name of *Stuarts* was obliged to me, for the notable ſervice, he alledged, I had done his Majeſty: As for him, he ſaid, he ſhould never take any thing in hand, but he therein directed by my *Brother* and *me*. But Colonel *Stuart* and he ſpoke not together, until his Majeſty deſired me to agree them, which after much travel I did at length. At firſt the Colonel ſwore a great Oath, *That if his Majeſty ſuffered that villain to remain at Court, he would yet again undo all.* For a little time he kept himſelf quiet, but there was no appearance of his home-going. Sometimes he would reprove my gentle kind of procedure in his Majeſties affairs, and could not endure to ſee them handled by a number. He inſinuated to his Majeſty, That he would find it a troubleſome buſineſs, to be incumbred with many contrary opinions. He deſired him to recreate himſelf at hunting, and he would attend the Council, and report again at his Majeſties return, all our Opinions and Concluſions. This he obſerved two or three times, and ſo in a very ſhort ſpace changed the former order laid down to have been followed: So that he gave accompt of no Man's advice but his own; yet he made his Majeſty believe that it was all our Opinions, that it was his intereſt to follow a violent courſe. And though the ſame was directly againſt his Majeſties firſt Deliberation, Intention, and Proclamation of Clemency, yet he cauſed to make contrary Proclamations againſt thoſe of the *Road* of *Ruthven*, ordaining them all to take remiſſions for that which before was allowed for good Service, moving divers Noblemen and others to withdraw from the Court, for fear, to ſome place of Security. When he cauſed to be read before the Council his new invented Proclamation, I down-right oppoſed my ſelf to it, ſaying, That I knew it was directly againſt his Majeſties mind and promiſe. Whereupon he leapt out of the Council-houſe in a rage, and ſaid I would wrack the King by my manner of doings. I anſwered, either you or I, my Lord, with other ſharp pricking language, ſo that for that time it was ſtayed. Afterward he waited a meet occaſion to get it paſt, having procured a flattering Faction to aſſiſt him, in expectation to be made ſharers of the ſpoil he hoped to make, a part whereof he had promiſed them, to gain their Votes to his deſire. And ſo all things were turned up-ſide down, a great number of Noblemen and others being put thereby in fear of their Lives and Eſtates. And when any of us who were deſirous of his Majeſties quiet and proſperous eſtate, would acquaint his Majeſty with the danger of theſe proceedings of the Earl, he would be very ſorry, ſaying, The Earl made him believe that he did nothing but by common conſent of the Council. And when his Majeſty underſtood the contrary, he was very earneſt and willing to amend the diſorder, but was ſtill Circumvented by the ſaid Earl, and ſuch as for fear, flattery, or expectation of profit, advanced all his deſigns.

About this time there came a ſharp Letter from the Queen of *England* unto his Majeſty, who thought the Noblemen who were aimed at, and were abſent from Court, fitteſt inſtruments to be about his Maieſty. And for entertaining of Amity and Concord betwixt their

Majeſties and Kingdoms, ſhe was not content to ſee them ſo hardly handled. The Copy of which Letter I have here inſerted.

"AMong your many ſtudies, my dear Brother and Couſin, I wiſh "*Iſocrates*'s noble Leſſon were not forgotten, that wills the Em- "perour his Soveraign, to make his Words of more accompt then other "men do their Oaths, as meeteſt Enſigns to ſhew the trueſt Badge of "a Prince's Arms. It moveth me much to moan you, when I behold "how diverſly ſundry wicked Spirits abſtract your mind, and bend "your courſe to crooked Paths, and evil illuſions, wrapt under the "Cloak of your beſt good. How can it be that you can ſuppoſe an "honourable and ſatiſfactory anſwer can be made unto me, when all "your actings gainſay your former Vows. You deal with one "whoſe experience will not take droſs for good payment, and with "one who will not be eaſily beguiled. No, no! I mind to ſend to "School your craftieſt Councellors. I am ſorry to find you bent to "wrong your ſelf, in thinking to injure others. Yea thoſe, who if "they had taken the opportunity in their hands, they might have "done you more prejudice, then a thouſand ſuch mens lives be worth, "who perſwade you to avow ſuch deeds; as to oblige the beſt deſer- "ving of your Subjects to demand a faultleſs Pardon. Why do you "forget what you wrote to my ſelf with your own hand, ſhewing "how dangerous a courſe the *Duke* was entred in, though you ſeemed "to excuſe him, as if he had intended no evil therein; and yet you "would not make them guilty who delivered you there-from. I hope "you more eſteem your honour, then to give it ſuch a ſtain, ſince "you have ſo oft proteſted, that you was reſolved to notice theſe Lords "as your moſt affectionate Subjects, in the full perſwaſion, that all "they had done was by them intended for your advantage. To con- "clude, I beſeech you proceed no further in this courſe, till you re- "ceive an expreſs Meſſenger, a truſty Servant of mine, by whom I in- "tend to deal as an affectionate Siſter with you, as one from whom "you may ſee you ſhall receive honour, and contentment, with more "ſurety to your Self and State, then by following the pernicious Coun- "cels of theſe crafty diſſembling Councellors, as knows the Lord, to "whoſe ſafe keeping I do commit you.

Your moſt Aſſured and Faithfulleſt Siſter
and Couſin,
ELIZABETH.

Unto this Letter his Majeſty commanded me in his name to write an anſwer, that he might write it over again with his own hand. For the Secretary for the time was in ſuſpicion to have been upon the contrary courſe. The anſwer was as followeth.

MADAM,

"I Have received a Letter of yours, containing in the entry, that "ſentence of *Iſocrates*, which willeth Princes Words to be more in- "tirely obſerved, then other Mens Oaths; as though ſome ſiniſter "report were made unto you of ſome forgetfulneſs in me, or that you "fear that in time coming I fail in keeping ſuch promiſes unto my "friends, as may be made upon juſt and convenient occaſions.

"For anſwer unto that head, I remember another ſaying of *Iſocrates*, "where he would not have them repute friends, who allow or praiſe "whatſoever we ſay or do, but rather ſuch who modeſtly reprove our "faults. So that I take your ſharp admonition at this time, as pro-"ceeding from a Siſterly love, albeit upon wrong information, hoping "that ſo ſoon as you ſhall truly underſtand of my hard handling, and "patient behaviour, you ſhall be ſo well ſatisfied as to deem me to "have done nothing, but that which you would have done your ſelf "in the like condition.

"Firſt, When I was detained Captive under a fair pretext, it plea-"ſed you to ſend your Ambaſſadors (like as did the King of *France*) "friendly to viſit me, offering me great kindneſs, and help, in caſe I "needed any, for the time, for which I do yet render your Majeſty "hearty thanks: Which offer I did not think fit to embrace, alledging "that I was well content, and had good friends about me, which was "very true. For one part of theſe ſame Lords, who were then about "me, perceiving my grief and miſcontent, offered even then to relieve "me, whenſoever I would deſire to be at greater liberty. Whereup-"on I made you then that anſwer, whereof you make mention in your "Letter, as I gave the like anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſadour. Ne-"vertheleſs I was ever reſolved at a fit time to relieve my ſelf, for my "honour, as I have done lately; following another ſaying of *Iſocrates* "willing Princes to hazard rather to dye honeſtly, then to ring ſhame-"fully, for how I did ring for the time, you might know by your Cou-"ſin Mr. *Cairo* in whoſe ear I rounded my familiar inward grief, be-"cauſe he ſaid you deſired him to require it at me apart, promiſing that "it ſhould be ſecretly kept from all others, albeit I uſed not ſuch free-"dom with Mr. *Bowes*. Indeed I ſubſcribed ſuch Writs and Letters "as the ſaid Lords preſented to me, for the time was unfit to diſpute "too preciſely upon Circumſtances, that were determined by theſe "who were Maſters of me and the State.

"This Anſwer I ſuppoſe will ſatisfie your own reaſonable and equita-"ble Judgment, diſcreetly conſidering the ſame with your ſelf apart, "I doubt if it will be ſo interpreted by others of your Councel, who "have particular deſigns of their own, to whom becauſe I impute the "whole hard Language contained in your angry Letter, and not to "your ſelf, and gentle inclination, I think it not needful now to write "an Anſwer unto every part of the ſame. So attending patiently upon "your better intelligence and information in theſe matters, I will ra-"ther retain in my memory your former fruitful friendſhip, then now "ſtart at any wrong ſet Syllable, or ſowre ſentence placed in your paper "at the partial inſtance of others.

"As concerning that which toucheth the *Duke* of *Lennox*, his godly "end hath declared his honeſt meaning. Whoſe death I might juſtly "lay upon ſuch as forcibly removed him from my preſence; never-"theleſs I reſolve to put all by-gones in Oblivion, neither to compel "any man to take a faultleſs Pardon.

"Where you deſire that I proceed no further, until a truſty "Meſſenger may come from you, I intend to ſtay from doing any

" thing till then, that you may juſtly be offended with) Albeit *Iſocrates* adviſes Princes ſpeedily to execute ſuch turns, as good Councel thinks neceſſary to be done,) wiſhing that he who ſhall be ſent, " may be as willing to work the effects of true love and friendſhip betwixt us, as I am aſſured it is both our hearts deſire, and intention, " whereto I pray the Lord to grant increaſe, continuance, and happineſs to his glory, and to the well peace, and quiet of both our " Realms.

The Secretary *Walſingham* was he of whom mention is made in her Majeſties Letter to be ſent in here, but he was long by the way by reaſon that he was ſickly. In the mean time Mr. *Bowes* who was Ambaſſador reſident at *Edinbrugh* had received this Letter by the ordinary Poſt, and returned the Anſwer. He declared many Commendations from my Lord *Burly*, and ſeveral of the Council of *England* to my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, alledging that they were glad to hear that ſuch men were about His Majeſty that were of their Religion, and with whom they were long acquainted, wiſhing many ſuch to be in Court.

About this time the Earl of *Arran* obtained the keeping of the *Caſtle* of *Stirling*, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far upon His Majeſty, that he took upon him the whole management of affairs, and cauſed ſundry Noblemen to be baniſhed, as the *Earls* of *Mar*, *Angus*, and the Maſter of *Glains*, and divers others.

And by his inſolency, he drove the Earl of *Gaurie* from Court, far againſt his Majeſties intention; who ſent me for him to his houſe to bring him again to Court, which was for the time at *Coupar* in *Fyffe*, where His Majeſty agreed him and the Earl of *Arran*. But no conditions promiſed were kept to *Gaurie*, ſo that he was ſo vexed, that he reſolved to leave the Country.

I have already declared how loath I was, that either His Majeſty ſhould leave the Lords who were about him, or that I ſhould in any wiſe be a medler again in publick affairs, conſidering the many alterations I had ſeen by long and hurtful experience, yet the affection I had for his Majeſty, engaged me not to refuſe his Commands, being my native Prince and Maſter, and I his humble Subject, and ſworn Servant, firſt as his domeſtick as being one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, and a Member of his Privy-Council. But after his Majeſty being taken, I was no more admitted by his Keepers, who thought fit for their ſecurity, to place ſuch men about him as were intirely at their Devotion. As for my part, as I was ſorry that His Majeſty ſhould be uſed any other way then at his own pleaſure, ſo I was much ſatisfied to be permitted to live quietly at home the reſt of my days, yet being called again by His Majeſty, I waited upon his Commands. Now again perceiving His Majeſties moſt acceptable Proclamations, ſlyly and cunningly changed contrary to His Majeſties merciful intentions, by iſſuing out contrary Proclamations, and intending violent perſuits againſt theſe concerned in the *Road* of *Ruthven*, whereby too great a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen deſpaired of their Safety, and Lives, in a lamenting manner I remembred his Majeſty, how he was abuſed, and what great inconveniencies were like to enſue. Thereupon His Majeſty upon my relation, appeared very ſorrowful, and aſſured me of his reſolutions to amend theſe diſorders, but it was his miſfortune to adviſe thereabouts with theſe who underhand were chief inſtruments therein: Believing that becauſe he loved them, they alſo loved him and the well of his affairs. They again making ſome appearance of intentions of ſatisfying his expectation, indirectly by means of too many who depended upon the *Earl* of *Arrans* extraordinary Credit, and Favour, the contrary to his Majeſties princely and upright meaning was brought about, ſo that many Noblemen left the Country; and all honeſt men left the Court, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Earl* of *Arran* and his Wife, who had the greater opportunity of guiding all. And that they might the eaſier ſet forward this courſe, they perſwaded His Majeſty to paſs to *Stirling*, whither they knew few or none durſt repair, who were not at his Devotion, he being Captain of the ſaid Caſtle, and Provoſt of the Town; after I had frequently warned His Majeſty, of the ſtorm I did foreſee coming, I retired my ſelf from Court.

His Majeſty being at *Stirling* asked frequently for me, regretting that I was not continually with him. Whereupon the Earl of *Arran* adviſed that I ſhould be ſent ambaſſador to the Queen of *England* upon ſome pretended affair, as well to abſent me from His Majeſty, who he perceived had ſome favour for me, as to take occaſion upon my return, to bring me in diſgrace, as if I had been guilty of ſome miſ-management, becauſe he knew that as matters ſtood I could do no good at that time. And commonly when Mens Commiſſions take no good effect, they are calumniated by their Enemies, and envyers, as unfit inſtruments, unskilful, and undiſcreet. Which Calumnies get oft-times too much Credit, when matters ſucceed not conform to the deſire of the Maſter. For this end he had engaged His Majeſty to write for me, but before his Letter came to my hands for the ſaid Voyage, I had indited a long Letter to have ſent unto His Majeſty, as a remembrancer of his former promiſes, intentions, and Proclamations; ſhewing what inconveniencies were like to enſue the ſetting forward of a contrary courſe, together with ſuch remedies as I could judge meeteſt for the time.

The tenour of His Majeſties Letter unto me was, That he had ſome matters to communicate to me, wherein he reſolved to imploy both my advice and pains, and therefore he deſired me to come to *Stirling* with all convenient expedition after the ſight of the ſaid Letter, where I ſhould underſtand more amply the occaſion of my being ſent for, as I would do him accomptible pleaſure and good ſervice. Written from the Caſtle of *Stirling* the 22*d* of *Octob.* 1583.

After the receipt of this Letter, I did ride unto His Majeſty, and took with me the Letter which I had penned before, whereof the Copy followeth,

“ Sir, as it hath pleaſed your Majeſty heretofore to accept of my
“ will for agreeable ſervice, even ſo I hope that your Highneſs's con-
“ ſtant favour ſhall continue toward me now, and in time coming, not-
“ withſtanding my preſent abſence. For albeit that during your Maje-
“ ſties young Age, I was ſuffered to live happily at home, from the
“ handling of publick affairs, yet I found my ſelf obliged to bear my
“ proportionable

proportionable burthen in your Service, ſo ſoon as it ſhould pleaſe your Majeſty to lay your Commands on me for that effect, being then moſt aſſured, to walk in a juſt and lawful vocation, which to give continual teſtimony of my dutiful obedience, not preſuming to give your Majeſty Counſel, I have only taken the boldneſs to preſent to you in theſe few lines, my ſimple opinion of things that are apparently to fall out upon your Majeſties late proceedings.

“For when it pleaſed your Majeſty at your firſt going to *St. Andrews*, to take upon your ſelf the free Government of your Affairs, your Majeſties Gracious intention and propoſition then, was not only moſt agreeable to all the *Lords*, *Barons*, and *Miniſters* there preſent for the time, but alſo to the reſt of your good Subjects, when as they underſtood of your merciful inclinations. Which being now otherwiſe overturned, then was either firſt intended, or determined, is able to breed cumber and diſorder, unleſs your Majeſty by wiſdom and dexterity prevent the apparent inconveniencies. For it pleaſed your Majeſty then openly to declare, how that you only ſought with your own reputation, and ſafety, the well and ſafety of your whole Subjects, as being willing to give ſatisfaction to the demands of the Church, to agree all parties, to blot out of memory the name of Factions, and put in perpetual Oblivion all Crimes committed in your Majeſties Minority, acknowledging all ſuch as chanced to be done during the ſame, but to have fallen out betwixt Subject and Subject, for ſuch particular reſpects as your Majeſty never purpoſed to impute to any of their Charges, but to Reign over them all in times coming as a Gracious Father, and that by the advice of the leaſt Factious, and beſt affected of the Nobility, Barons and other ſufficient Subjects. No man to be placed about or proſcribed from your Majeſty by favour or ſurname, kin, friend, or allye, but for ſufficiencie, vertue, and loyalty. As alſo if any were to be abſented, or ſent home for a time, it ſhould not be done at the inſtance of any envious ſuiter of his Office, or particular Party, but for your Majeſties honour and ſafety, during your pleaſure, leaving them ſtill in hope through good behaviour to obtain again familiar acceſs about your Majeſty as formerly.

“If this Calm Courſe had been followed, there was appearance of a quiet State. But the altering and changing this gentle kind of dealing to a ſharp and violent perſuit of ſundry, by ſeeking out over many faults in the perſons of ſo many Great and Active Men, hath bred ſuch diſcontent and ſo furious a Faction, that if ſudden remedy be not provided, civil diſſention and deſpaired interpriſes ought to be looked for by all ſuch as have ſufficient experience of the nature of *Scotſmen*, and ſeemly intelligence of the deportment of divers, which the neceſſity of their unſure Eſtate may well drive them honeſtly to take in hand.

“It is true, that the flouriſhing of Commonwealths, conſiſts much in the rewarding of the good, and puniſhing of the wicked. No doubt but faults enough have been done during your nonage, but to ſeek them out narrowly, and to puniſh them ſeverely in ſuch caſes, and at ſuch times, in matters wherein many have dipped, is no ſafe Courſe. Yea, though your Majeſty were willing, as I know

“ you are not, I cannot ſee how you can get it done againſt ſo great a “ number, having ſo ſmall ſubſtance and few Forces, and ſo potent “ and mighty Neighbours lying ſtill at wait upon all ſuch controverſies, and occaſions, to take advantage thereof, whereby to ſerve “ their own turn. This Conſideration alſo ought preſently to be noticed, that the wonted reverence born by the Subjects unto the “ Princely Authority of their Soveraigns, is much decayed in this “ Kingdom, by reaſon of the Queens Youth and long abſence, and even ſo in your Majeſty (time for the like cauſes, but chiefly becauſe “ that your Majeſties being yet young) have been accompanied this “ time paſt with the youngeſt, and meaneſt ſort of your Nobility. “ Who albeit they may be faithful and honeſt, to ſet forward your “ ſervice, yet the reſt of your Subjects alledging them to be factious, “ ignorant and covetous, doubt of their diſcreet behaviour, ſeeing “ their intentions are to Rule by force ; hardly may a Prince aſſure “ himſelf at all occaſions, to chooſe a ſure courſe wherein there ſhall “ be no peril. For commonly thinking to eſcape out of one inconveniency fall oft-times into an other. Therefore prudence conſiſts “ in underſtanding the quality of dangers, and in chooſing the leaſt “ evil for the beſt.

“ Some Kingdoms and Countries are Governed by force, ſome by “ fairneſs, on the other part Subjects obey either for awe, or love. “ That Prince is reputed of no value, who cannot win the hearts of “ his Subjects by one of theſe two. For either muſt the means be taken at once from ſuch as are ſuſpected deſervedly, whereby they may “ do harm, or elſe they muſt be ſatisfied in ſuch ſort as in reaſon they “ may be content, and ſo ſerve for love, and not for awe. So that it “ is eaſie to judge which of theſe two Governments may be meeteſt “ for your Majeſty.

“ The Emperor *Trajan* being demanded, wherefore his Subjects “ loved and honoured him above his Predeceſſors, anſwered, becauſe “ I forgive them who offend me, and never forget any who have done “ me ſervice. *Julius Pollux* Maſter to *Cæſar* points out a true Prince “ to be of Divine Countenance, Godly, Merciful, Juſt, Equitable, Careful of his Affairs, Conſtant in his Deeds, true in his Promiſes Subject unto reaſon, Maſter over his Affections, fatherly towards his “ Subjects, of eaſie Acceſs, gentle to be ſpoken to, ready to forgive, “ ſlow to puniſh, princely, liberal, ſubtil, ſecret, and ſharp of ingeny.

“ Now becauſe it appeareth your Majeſty in youth hath been ſufficiently verſed in many of theſe vertuous precepts, I wiſh from my “ heart that ſuch impreſſions may be as well taken of them that are “ preſently about you, ſeeing that Princes are commonly deemed to “ be like thoſe whom they make moſt their familiars.

“ Therefore Sir, for eſchewing all thoſe evils, and to put the neareſt Remedy unto all the appearing inconveniencies, it is fit ſo ſoon “ as it may pleaſe your Majeſty to paſs to *Edinbrugh*, to convene the “ moſt ancient of your Nobility, and Barons of beſt reputation, by “ whoſe advice together with thoſe that are already in Court, your “ Country may be quieted, and your Subjects ſatisfied. For now as “ matters are handled, to ſpeak of Clemency by cauſing them to take

"remiſſions, it will want Credit, and be ill interpreted, as not con-
"form to your Majeſties firſt Declaration.

"The Emperour *Adrian* inquired after men of great age and expe-
"rience, and helped himſelf by their many perils.

"*Alexander Severus* would perform no matter of importance, but
"with advice of the moſt ancient and beſt experimented. He never
"went out of *Rome*, unaccompanied with four or five of moſt ho-
"nourable, ancient and grave perſonages, that none ſhould need to
"fear that he would commit any Error. He never ſuffered the Se-
"nate to conclude any weighty purpoſe, unleſs Fifty of them had
"been preſent. He cauſed all his Counſellors to put their Opinions
"in writing, to ſee if any were poſſeſt with paſſions, or partialities. He
"changed oft his familiarity with ſundry of the Senate, leſt he who
"had always his ear, might be overcome with importunate purſuits,
"or partiality.

"The urgent neceſſity of the time, moſt Noble and Excellent
"Prince, cauſeth me to be ſo tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and
"heartily kiſſing your Majeſties hands, I pray the Eternal God grant
"you long and happy life.

From *Halhil* this 15*th*
of *October* 1583.

Your Majeſties moſt Humble,
And Obedient Servitour,

James Melvil,

When I came to *Stirling*, and ſhewed his Majeſty this Letter, he not only liked well of it, but ingaged to follow the advice therein contained. He lamented to me the partial dealing of thoſe about him. Only he ſaid, that my Brother Sir *Robert* was upon a ſound courſe for quieting of the Eſtate, and that ſome Noblemen, againſt whoſe partialities he had oppoſed himſelf, had diſcorded with him in his Majeſties preſence. It pleaſed his Majeſty alſo to tell me that the cauſe why I was written for, was to be ſent to *England*, to travel with the *Queen* there for entertainment of mutual Amity, and encreaſe of her favour and good will, concerning the Title and Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, and aſſiſtance to help to eſtabliſh his troubled Eſtate, perturbed by the inſolence and partialities of his Subjects, bred and ingendered among them during his minority.

I anſwered, that I judged it was a very unmeet time, ſeeing I knew as matters ſtood in *Scotland*, that *England* would make no account of him, nor of any that would be ſent from him, until firſt he would let it be ſeen and heard, that he could ſettle his own Eſtate, and by his wiſe and prudent management, render his own Subjects obedient to his Commands, this being done they would honour and eſteem him. And that the beſt and readieſt way to obtain alſo one day the Crown of *England*, was to guide *Scotland* ſo well, that they might find ground ſome day to wiſh to be under the Government of ſuch a Prince. By this kind of Language, and his Majeſty pondering what ground I had to uſe the ſame, he was ſatisfied that my Voyage ſhould be ſtayed till a more convenient time. So I returned from Court, to my own houſe.

It is mentioned here above in the *Queen* of *Englands* Letter how that ſhe was minded to ſend a Truſty Servant unto his Majeſty, willing him to ſtay from any ſtrict proceeding againſt the Lords, who were prickt at for the *Road* of *Ruthven*, until the Arriving of the ſaid Ambaſſador, who was the Secretary *Walſingham*, a Counſellor of worthy qualities, who had great Credit with the Queen of *England*. But he was of a ſickly Complection, and was not able to endure riding Poſt, therefore he was long by the way, being carried in a Charriot. So that during his longſome Voyage, the Earl of *Arran* went ay forward, forgetting the tenour of the Queen of *Englands* Letter.

So ſoon as his Majeſty was advertiſed of the Arrival of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, I was ſent for to come to Court, and directed to ride and welcome him in his Majeſties name, to bear him company, and Convoy him about by *Stirling* to *St. Johnſtoun* where his Majeſty thought fit to give him Audience. Deſiring me alſo to ſay unto him that his Majeſty was very glad of the coming of ſuch a notable Perſonage who was known to be indued with Religion, and Wiſdom, whom he had ever eſteemed as his ſpecial friend, being aſſured that his tedious travel in his long Voyage, (being diſeaſed as he was) tended to more ſubſtantial points for the confirmation of the amity between the Queen his Siſter and him, then had been performed at any time before.

The Secretary *Walſingham* anſwered me again, that the great deſire he had to eſtabliſh an aſſured Amity betwixt the two Princes, and Countries, moved him to undertake the Embaſſage himſelf, his Majeſty being the Prince in the World, that he loved next unto the Queen his Miſtreſs, and wiſhed moſt to ſee and be acquainted with. And that he hoped his Commiſſion ſhould ſucceed the better, that he had met firſt with me his old friend, and only acquaintance in *Scotland*. For we had been Companions abroad upon our Travels, and divers times when I was ſent to or paſſed thorow *England*, he would have me to lodge and lye with himſelf at *London*, which occaſioned that we had more familiar Conferences. Whereupon I did write two ſeveral Letters, that his Majeſty might be the better provided to make anſwer to ſuch heads as I knew he would propoſe. Then we took our Journey thorow *Lithgow* to *Stirling*, and from that to *Pearth*. He had heard that my Lord *Seatoun* and *Livingstoun* were written unto to Convoy him, but he requeſted me to ſtay them, that he might have the more Conference by the way with me, otherwiſe he would be compelled to entertain the Noblemen. I judged it probable that his deſign in this, was to let ſee his own Train; For he was Sevenſcore Horſe in Company. Being near the Court, his Majeſty ſent out two of the Council to meet him, to wit, my Lord of *Down* and my Brother Sir *Robert*.

The next day his Majeſty gave him Audience, accompanied with Mr. *Bowes* Ambaſſador Reſident in *Scotland*. Their firſt reaſoning was upon his Majeſties Liberty, and wherefore he had left the Company who were about him, being the beſt and moſt religious ſort of the Nobility, and of his Majeſties beſt acquaintance, and by whom ſhe would deal in her affairs more friendly, then ſhe could do with others, whom ſhe could not ſo well Credit. Whereunto his Majeſty made anſwer, ſo gravely and directly, that *Walſingham* wondred. The next day his Majeſty appointed four of the Council, and my ſelf to be with them, to reaſon with him, and to ſound what he would be at. But he refuſed to deal with any, but with his Majeſty who heard him again without Mr. *Bowes*. Where he diſcourſed long with his Majeſty, and when he came forth from his Majeſty he took me by the hand, and ſaid, that he was the beſt content man that could be, for he had ſpoken with a notable young Prince, ignorant of nothing, and of ſo great expectation, that he thought his Travel well beſtowed. The Earl of *Arran* deſired to enter into familiar Conference with him, but he refuſed to ſpeak with him. Making no longer ſtay, but took leave of his Majeſty who commanded me to accompany him to the Ferry. At our parting, he promiſed at all occaſions to write to me, and much lamented that the Earl of *Arran* was again in Court, and in ſuch Credit with his Majeſty. Which he ſaid if he had underſtood before he took his Journey, he would have ſhifted the ſame, and ſuffered ſome other to have been ſent. For he could ſee no ſure courſe could be taken between their Majeſties, ſo long as ſuch inſtruments had ſuch Credit about him. For he eſteemed the ſaid *Earl* a ſcorner of Religion, a ſower of diſcord, and a deſpiſer of true and honeſt men, and therefore he refuſed to ſpeak with him, or enter into acquaintance. For he was of a contrary nature, religious, true, and a lover of all honeſt men. Therefore *Arran* to be revenged upon him, ſpared not to do a great diſhonour to his Majeſty. Firſt for deſpite, that he refuſed to ſpeak with him, he cauſed refuſe to permit the Captains of *Berwick*, and divers other honeſt Gentlemen, who came to Convoy the Secretary *Walſingham*, the entry of his Majeſties Chamber door. And then he cauſed to prepare a ſcornful Preſent for him at his departure, to wit, a Ring with a ſtone of *Cryſtal*, inſtead of a rich *Diamond* which his Majeſty had appointed for him, valued at 700 Crowns which he was oftimes minded to ſend back again unto his Majeſty, rather to let him ſee how he was abuſed then how he was uſed. Some promiſe was alſo made unto him, about the repairing ſome wrongs done by *Scotſmen* upon the borders, which he alledged was not kept. For *Arran* did what he could to diſpleaſe him, and to render his Commiſſion in all points ineffectual, and his Travel in vain. Neverthelefs he made ſo good report of his Majeſties vertues, and qualities, that it put him in ſome ſuſpition at his return to the Court of *England*, where ſhortly after he took ſickneſs and dyed. My opinion is, that if God had granted him longer life, he would have been found a great friend to his Majeſty, who marvelled that the chief Secretary of *England*, burthened with ſo many great affairs, ſickly, and aged, ſhould have enterpriſed ſo painful a Voyage without any purpoſe. For it could not be yet perceived, what was his Errand, ſave only that he gave his Majeſty good Counſel. But he be being religious, and of a good conſcience, was deſirous to ſee and underſtand aſſuredly ſuch qualifications to be in his Majeſty, whereof he had frequently been informed. He returned with great contentment in his mind for that part, but very ſorrowful for the company that he found in greateſt favour and credit about his Majeſty. Which was the more unexpected, by reaſon of a Letter that his Majeſty had ſent unto the *Queen* his Miſtreſs, promiſing not to bring in again to Court the Earl of *Arran* without her advice, and conſent. For my part I never ſaw ſuch appearance of a proſperous Eſtate, for his Majeſties honour, ſurety, love and obedience of his own Subjects, increaſe of the number of his friends in *England*, to the advancement of his Title, neither before that time nor ſince; if the ſaid *Arran* had not been brought again to Court, which I left not undeclared to his Majeſty divers times, not without ſome danger.

Indeed his Majeſties intention was not that he ſhould ſtay at Court, but onely to come and kiſs his hand. But he again being once entred, won ſome of the Lords, whoſe particulars he promiſed to ſet forward, if they would concur with him, and ſhew his Majeſty that his preſence about his perſon was neceſſary, and that my Gentle proceedings would ruin the Kings intereſt, and them all. Managing thus the matter, he remained at Court, and minded to make himſelf and his aſſiſtors rich, by the wrack and ſpoil of others, who had taken his Majeſty at the Road of *Ruthven*. And then he and they, were to guide all at their pleaſure. So many of them, who ſhot at particular marks, ran a ſtrait Courſe with him, becauſe they thought by his Credit to make up themſelves. They feared to loſe his Majeſties favour, in caſe *Arran* was not their friend. And ſome of them did what they could, to perſuade me to do the like, alledging that otherwiſe I ſhould be ſhut out. Which came to paſs ſhortly after, becauſe I would not yield nor concurr to caſt all looſe, to the peril of his Majeſties Eſtate and Reputation, remembring what was intended, promiſed, and proclaimed at his Majeſties obtaining his Liberty.

It is certain, that the Lords who made that interpriſe had great occaſion given them to be diſcontent, but no ſufficient cauſe to oblige them to compel their Soveraign Prince to remove from him theſe he ſo well liked. Which rebellious proceeding, compelled them alſo for their ſurety to retian and hold the King as Captive. His Majeſty again being advertiſed, and admoniſhed, that the dangerous proceedings of the Duke of *Lennox*, and Earl of *Arran*, were like to breed diſorder, took too litte care to prevent the apparent inconveniencies, and uſed too little diligence to get ſure intelligence and information thereof, which brought him to that ſtrait of being taken, and kept. For it had been leſs pains to have taken good notice in due time, how his Country was Governed, then to put order or remedy thereto afterward. For it is no little Error, to render the moſt part of the Nobility and Subjects malecontent, nor no great wiſdom after his Majeſty was in their hands, to ſlip from them without their conſents. The interpriſers, aſſiſters and allowers of the deed, being ſo conſiderable a number, as could not be overcome, but by patience, nor puniſhed but by ſubverſion of the State, and endangering of the Prince his own perſon. Yet it pleaſed God to guide his Majeſty to his liberty (albeit not without ſome peril) with honour at the firſt, and with the univerſal contentment of all his Subjects ſo ſoon as they underſtood his honeſt meaning, and gracious deliberation as well by Promiſe, as by Proclamation, as is already ſpecified. For my part, I forget not at all occaſions, to remember his Majeſty I refuſed the Office of Secretary when offered by his Majeſty in reward of my ſervice, becauſe it was promiſed that no man ſhould want his Offices, Benefits, Lands or Eſcheats. I oppoſed my ſelf in full Council againſt the Earl of *Arran*, becauſe he had formed a Proclamation againſt the Lords of the *Road* of *Ruthven*, contrary to His Majeſty's former Proclamation of Grace and Oblivion: For which he leapt out of the houſe in a great rage at me, and for deſpight he made a Liſt of the Names of ſo many as ſhould be upon the Privy-Council, and left out my name. Likewiſe he named ſo many of his dependers, as ſhould ſerve in every Office, which his Majeſty was reſolved not to acquieſce to, without my advice. Yet he prevailed with His Majeſty to ſubſcribe the ſame, aſſiſted by the foreſaid Lords, who took plain part with him. So I was ſhut out of door, and had no more place to do good. His Majeſty graciouſly excuſed the matter, and ſaid, That the Lords had no will of two Brothers being upon the Council. But when he ſhould get a Wife, I ſhould be her Councellour, and chief about her. So that if they were glad to be quit of me, I was as glad to be free of them, and not to be partakers with them in advices tending directly to indanger the Prince and the Country.

Yet his Majeſty aſſured me, That he would go to *Edinbrugh*, according to the advice I had given in my forementioned Letter, and Convene the Nobility, Barons, and others whom I had named, in order to the ſettling of the Country. And in the mean time he told me, That the Earl of *Arran* thought fit to ſend to *England* the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, alledging, That he was paſſing to the *Spaw* for recovery of his health: Who paſſing through *England*, might have Commiſſion to deal with that Queen in his Majeſties affairs. And in caſe he found her willing to diſcouſe friendly and freely, he ſhould then ſhew her that his Majeſty would ſend me thither, to ſatisfie her more ſufficiently in ſuch things as ſhe would require. And to that effect the ſaid Biſhop ſhould ſend back word by a Gentleman, Captain *Robert Melvil*, who went thither expreſly to be ſent back with the ſaid anſwer.

I was commanded to write in the Biſhop's favour, but he was too well known in *England*. For Mr. *Bowes* who remained long in this Country, had informed them ſufficiently of the ſaid Biſhop's qualities, who was diſdained in *England*, and diſhonoured his Country by borrowing of Gold and pretious Furniture from the Biſhop of *London*, and divers others, which was never reſtored, nor prayed for. His Majeſty nevertheleſs would have me to grant to go to *England*, and to be in readyneſs. He deſired me to make my own Inſtructions, alledging, That I knew what was meeteſt for him to require at that time.

I would not take upon me to make my own Inſtructions, but I promiſed to pen the Speech that I would think moſt proper to recite to her Majeſty, in caſe I went thither, and which I would judge to be the fitteſt language that any ſent thither could ſpeak for the time. After his Majeſty had peruſed the ſame, he much reliſhed it, and declared it was fully conform to his own intentions. It was in theſe words.

MADAM,

"Albeit that your Majeſty be as ſufficiently certified of the King "my Sovereign's conformable mind to ſatisfie your Majeſty, "as well by Sir *Francis Walſingham* your Secretary, as by the Biſhop of "*St. Andrews* his Ambaſſadour, granting the one his whole deſires "by mouth, and declaring by the other how ſtrictly he hath obſer-

'ved, and performed the ſame; in effect more to ſatisfie your mo-
"therly mind, by ſhewing the tokens of a thankful and obedient Son,
"then for any great advantage he perceives you thereby ſeek for your
"ſelf. So that it is his Majeſty's intention, chiefly ſeeing he hath ta-
"ken the Rudder into his own hand to diſcover to you, ay the lon-
"ger the more the perfect fruits of his hearty affection.

"For now having attained unto ſome years of knowledge, and dear
"bought experience (by that which hath been oft beat in his Ears)
"he is not ignorant how that your Majeſties favour and aſſiſtance will
"be more contributive for his advantage and advancement, then can
"be any; or that he can obtain from all the other Princes in *Europe*.
"Your Majeſty being to him ſo dear a Mother, and ſo near a Neighbour,
"both your Subjects appearing to be but one People. Eſpecially ſince
"your prudent Government began, the effects whereof hath not only
"been found by your own, but by your neighbours. The ſame having
"extended it ſelf to the advantage of other Kingdoms, eſpecially over-
"ſhadowing this whole Iſland to your Majeſties everlaſting honour.
"For never in any Princes days, hath been ſeen ſo much reſt, ſo great
"riches and felicity in *England*, which likewiſe might have been in
"*Scotland*, if the particularities of ſome of the Subjects had ſuffered
"them to have followed your Sage, Charitable and Loving admoniti-
"ons. As the conſideration thereof is the reaſon which induced his
"Majeſty, whom the matter moſt toucheth, to direct me to your Ma-
"jeſty after ripe deliberation, and upon the ſure ground of the good
"information of ſuch as were beſt inclined, and have greateſt experi-
"ence, to ſeek the aſſiſtance which he hath ſo oft ſeen ſent unto him,
"help and wholſom advice where he hath ſo oft found it, and Salutary
"Plaiſters to be laid unto the Sores, that yet daily breed and ariſe in
"his Realm as remains of the Canker, and diſorder ingendred during
"his Minority.

Seeing then the thing that he craves, is your accuſtomed Kindneſs
"and Counſel, which becauſe the ſtrength of your conſtancy will
"compel you to continue towards him, he is the more humbly to ſuit
"the ſame, as moſt ſeemly for his neerneſs of Kin, Age and Eſtate to
"do. Perſwading himſelf, that ſuch friendly Offices might be uſed
"between you, as may tend to both your contentments, and weal of
"your Kingdoms, which for lack of ſure intelligence of others minds
"by ſecret and mutual conference, of devotious and diſcreet inſtru-
"ments, might otherwiſe turn to the contrary.

"The King my Maſter knows that a mighty Man cannot ſtand
"upon one ſide, he grants that he hath now greater need of your help
"then you of his in many things. But he thinks himſelf as able, and
"is as willing to deſerve favour at your hand, as any who can contend
"with him for the ſame, or would preſume to ſound the Bell of Suc-
"ceſſion in your Ears. For his part, he requires no inſtant Declara-
"tion thereof, but will continually crave by his behaviour all ſuch pre-
"ferment, as an humble Son ought to ſeek at the hands of a loving
"and hearty Mother. Becauſe he believes, that a word of your Ma-
"jeſties mouth, at a convenient time will ſufficienly ſerve his turn,
"being yet young enough to await upon any benefit you ſhall be
"pleaſed to beſtow upon him. Acknowleding the Prorogation of

“ your Years, moſt profitable to ſupply his Youth. And conſidering the neceſſity he hath now of your aſſiſtance, in the ruling of this his troubled Eſtate, he believes that he would have double need of your help, if over-early he had any greater handling.

“ Therefore, Madam, he deſires as yet to recreate himſelf with hunting and paſtime, until he be of greater ripeneſs and maturity. Wiſhing in the mean time unto your Majeſty a long Life, a proſperous Reign, and as good ſucceſs in your proceedings hereafter, as you have had hitherto, that having ſo happily and ſo honourably in a manner ruled both the Realms, theſe many years by-gone, you may be as able to leave them ſo joined together in a cordial and ſtable Monarchy. And that the bleſt and perfect end of your prudent project may Confirm and Crown the worthineſs of your Reputation, in finiſhing the work which ſo many had ſo oft in vain enterpriſed, as the only Prince that ever obtained the whole handling, and hearts of all *Britain* without Blood. The firſt thereof begun and appropriate in your perſon, ſo pleaſantly and peaceably ruled in your time; and ſo juſtly and righteouſly diſtribute and left after you, not only to the worthieſt, as did *Alexander*, but alſo to the neareſt of your friends and kinsfolk, as did *Cæſar* to avoid blood ſhedding; then as before, like a kindly Mother to the King, the Country, and Common-wealth, to the great pleaſure of God, the perpetual praiſe of your memory, and to the univerſal weal and pleaſure of this whole Iſland.

If the Queen of *England* could have credited His Majeſty, ſhe might have an aſſured friendſhip and concurrence of him for the time. Certainly his Majeſty was ever minded to keep this kind of friendly and diſcreet Correſpondence with her. For he was informed how little ſpeed the Queen his Mother had, for ſuiting continually to be declared Second Perſon of *England*, as may be ſeen in that which I have written before, touching her proceedings with the Queen of *England*, who I knew would never grant to declare a Second Perſon, but with force and compulſion, which was never in the power of *Scotland* to do, during the rich and peaceable Reign of that Queen. Yet fair and diſcreet language and behaviour, gave place and acceſs to His Majeſty's Ambaſſadours, to paſs to and fro, to gain friends, and get intelligence.

Now the Earl of *Arran* perceiving that by no perſwaſion he could get His Majeſty ſtayed from executing the reſolution he had laid down of going for *Edinbrugh*, and calling a Convention of ſuch Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes and Miniſters, as were meeteſt to ſettle the troubled Eſtate of the Country, by taking up again, and following forth his former gracious intention and promiſe, both by Proclamation and Speeches unto divers Noblemen, Barons and Miniſters. The ſaid Earl perceiving that he could not directly ſtay that good purpoſe, ſo contrary to his intentions, he firſt made his intereſt to be made Chancellour, and then Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, that by his great Offices, beſides his credit with His Majeſty, he might terrifie all ſuch as durſt oppoſe themſelves to his Courſes, or Propoſitions. Then he uſed his craft, to pervert and draw the effect of the Convention, clear contrary to His Majeſty's intention. For he dealt and ſpoke with every Lord and Baron apart at their coming, ſhewing them how graciouſly his Majeſty was minded toward ſuch as had taken him at the *Road* of *Ruthven*; that he was reſolved to grant every one of them a particular remiſſion, ſome of them to be a while abſent out of the Country, and others to remain at home in their own houſes abſent from Court. Alledging, that whoever would ſay that this form of puniſhment was not great clemency, they would loſe His Majeſties favour, and be reputed as Men who have no reſpect to his honour, and ſurety, it having been ſo odious a Crime to have laid hands forcibly upon their native Prince.

This matter being ſo ſet out, and declared by him, who it was thought knew moſt of his Majeſty's mind, and had moſt of his favour, evidenced by his having the greateſt Offices of the Kingdom in his hand; it was Voted by them all, *To be great Clemency uſed by his Majeſty towards thoſe who had committed ſo odious a Crime.* His Majeſty not conjecturing the trick hereby put upon him, in rendering his gracious intention ineffectual, was very glad to hear them all conclude in one Opinion, not imagining they had been preoccupied by the Earl of *Arran*, part for fear, part for ignorance, others for flattery, to obtain favour of him who they ſaw guided both King and Country. Few or none of them, for the time, conſidered the apparent danger of rendering theſe plainly deſperate, who were ordained to take Remiſſions, for that which before was allowed for good Service, in reſpect of their great number who could not yet be puniſhed, nor quaſhed without hazarding His Majeſty's own Princely Eſtate and Credit, which all diſcreet and wiſe Princes are loath to bring into Queſtion. This allowance of good Service hath been oft practiſed in *France*, during the time of their Civil Wars, when their late Princes were but yet young, and where the Malecontents and Pretenders to Reform the Eſtate where ſo many and mighty, as to make a Party anſwerable to that of their King.

Becauſe I was not yet come to the firſt day of the ſaid Convention, His Majeſty told me that ſame night at my coming, what had been Voted at their firſt meeting, which he thought would be to my great contentment, deſiring me the next day to be preſent. I anſwered, I was ſorry from my heart for what had been concluded, ſeeing it was in effect clean contrary to his intention. For whereas he thought to have ſettled his Eſtate, it was caſt looſe, the Die was now caſt, and the Diſſention ſo increaſed to the kindling of new enterpriſes, that chance would bear away the Maſtery and Victory. For thoſe who were compelled to take Remiſſion, would take it as their ditty, and that finding their former ſecurities altered, there was not any more place left for any ſort of agreement.

This language of mine being contrary to the Opinion of ſo many, did not a little diſpleaſe his Majeſty. He asked me, if I thought not the *Road* of *Ruthven* Treaſon? I anſwered, That I thought it ſo indeed, yet ſince not only his Majeſty himſelf and his Council, had not only wiſely and circumſpectly allowed it for good Service, but had written the ſame to the Queen of *England*, and had ſent his Commiſſioners to the General Aſſembly holden for the time at *Edinbrugh*, willing the Miniſters at their return to their Pariſhes to cauſe the principal

pal Gentlemen of each Shire to ſubſcribe a Signature, or the Copy wherein the *Road* of *Ruthven* was allowed for good Service, and to be ready to defend the ſame. I declared alſo unto his Majeſty, that there was a common Clauſe contained in all Remiſſions; to wit, *Except the laying hands upon the King's perſon*; ſo that how little ſecured they were by their preſent Remiſſions, His Majeſty might eaſily judge. He anſwered, That ſeldom or never was any Remiſſions ſeen broken, and wondered what made me think or ſpeak contrary to the reſt of the Council. I ſaid, if I had alwayes ſpoken as the reſt, I had not been put off the Council by the Earl of *Arran*, whoſe qualities I had before deſcribed unto His Majeſty, and what inſeparable inconveniencies would attend his being again brought into Court. I requeſted His Majeſty for his own weal, to ſend him home to his own Houſe. For by his underhand dealing, I underſtood that his Convention would ſhortly bring on new deſperate enterpriſes. His Majeſty ſaid, That I was in the wrong to the Earl of *Arran*, and that there would never be more deſperate enterpriſes. I affirmed that there would be continually, ay and while the Lords who were in deſpair might mend themſelves, or find themſelves in a better ſecurity. I ſaid moreover to His Majeſty, that the Earl of *Arran* would yet again put his Perſon and Crown in hazard, ſo that His Majeſty left me in anger. And yet he turned about again, and asked who ſhall then remain about me, if I put away the Earl of *Arran*? I anſwered, Who but your ancient Nobility, the Earls of *March*, *Arguile*, *Eglintoun*, *Montroſe*, *Marſhal*, *Rotheſs*, *Huntly*, and *Crauford*, with ſome Miniſters and Barons, known not to be factious. But ſo many of the Noblemen, and of their Friends, as were yet remaining within the Country, after they had heard of their Remiſſions, they Combin'd together and gained divers Lords, who were about His Majeſty to make a new enterpriſe, and were minded to ſlay the Earl of *Arran*, Colonel *Stuart*, and ſome others that were about His Majeſty, whom they knew to have been moſt inſtrumental in carrying on this deſign, though it ſhould be in his Majeſty's preſence, and that way to become Maſters again of the Court. Whereof I not only was advertiſed by ſome, to whom I had formerly done kindneſſes, but I was adviſed to abſent my ſelf from Court four or five days, till the firſt fury of the alteration was over: For the Earl of *Arran's* hatred to me, procured me many friends. I again to ſave his Majeſty from peril, and diſhonour, thought it my duty to advertiſe him, intreating him to ſend home the ſaid *Earl*. I cannot tell what moved the Earl, but that ſame night he invited me to Supper, which I refuſed. The next day again he took me by the hand before His Majeſty, ſaying, That I ſhould Dine with him in his Majeſty's preſence. He ſhewed me a very favourable countenance, for the King had forbidden him to offend me in any ſort, as he would retain his favour. If he had got any word of my contrary Opinion to his, I cannot tell, or that I had deſired him to be ſent home, but there was ſome appearance of this by his behaviour and paſſionate Speeches unto me, ſoon after that I had told my judgment unto his Majeſty, as men may judge, for leading me by the hand to dine with him in His Majeſty's preſence, which I could not evite. Before we did ſit down to Dinner, he askt Me how all would be? I told him very freely, all I had ſpoken unto

His Majeſty. Then, ſaid he, you would place about His Majeſty the Earl of *March*, who is a Fool guided by the Laird of *Compie* and *Robert Sives*. I ſaid, he behoved to be one with the reſt of the Noblemen already named. He ſaid it ſhould paſs my power, or any Man's to cauſe him leave his Majeſty, ſo long as he was in ſuch danger. I anſwered, That the King was in danger for no other cauſe, but becauſe he was with him. I perceived he entertained a great diſcontent at me in his heart, which burſt out afterward, Threatning to put me out of the Gates, if I fiſhed any more in his Waters. I anſwered, if I pleaſed to tarry, it would paſs his power, ſeeing I would get more honeſt Men to take my part, then he would get Throat-cutters to aſſiſt him. So ſoon as his Majeſty heard of this language, he ſent the Earl's Uncle, the Laird of *Caprintoun* to reprove him very ſharply. Whereupon he retired in great diſcontent to the Caſtle of *Edinbrugh*, whereof he was Captain, declaring he would not come near his Majeſty, till I was ſent home, to give him place, which I perceived His Majeſty was ſatisfied I ſhould do to pleaſe him. For his Wife came daily to His Majeſty, and ſaid, That her Husband was highly diſcontent, finding His Majeſty to take my part againſt him. Whereupon I reſolved to retire. At my leave-taking, His Majeſty ſaid, he doubted not but I would return when called for. By which I underſtood, that I ſhould not come back, till ſent for. Which ſuited very well with my former intentions, being reſolved to attend no longer then the foreſaid Convention was ended.

Now the Earl of *Arran* triumphed, being *Chancellour*, and *Captain* of the *Caſtles* of *Edinbrugh* and *Sterling*. He made the whole Subjects to tremble under him, and every Man to depend upon him, daily inventing and ſeeking out new faults againſt divers, to get the gift of their Eſcheats, Lands, Benefices. And to procure Bribes, he vexed the whole Writers, to make ſure his gifts. Thoſe of the Nobility who were now unſure of their Eſtates fled, others were baniſhed; he ſhot directly at the Life and Lands of the Earl of *Gaury*. For the Highland Oracles had ſhewn unto his Wife, that *Gaury* would be ruined, as ſhe told to ſome of her familiars. But ſhe helped that Propheſie forward, as well as ſhe could. For *Gaury* had been his firſt Maſter, and deſpighted his inſolent Pride, Oppreſſion, and Misbehaviour plainly in Council, which few others durſt do, therefore he hated his Perſon, and loved his Lands, which at length he obtained.

For *Gaury* being unable to be a Witneſs of the Oppreſſion of his Country, obtained His Majeſties conſent to go out of the Country. But as he was making his preparations too longſomly, and ſlowly in *Dundie* (as he was of Nature over ſlow) where his Ship was to receive him, he was advertiſed by ſome Factioners that the Earls of *Angus*, *Mar*, and Maſter of *Glams*, had an enterpriſe in hand, *viz.* To come out of *Ireland*, and take the Town and Caſtle of *Sterling*. Having correſpondence with divers Nobles, and others their Friends, who were in the Country Malecontents, ſo that they were in hope to make a party ſufficient againſt the Earl of *Arran*.

The deſpight the Earl of *Gaury* had againſt the Earl of *Arran*, moved him to ſtay to make part with them. There was at this time an univerſal miſcontent in the Country, and great bruits of an alteration. Whereupon a Letter was written to me by Colonel *Stuart*; at His Majeſty's Command, ordaining me with all diligence to repair to Court; or in caſe I was not recovered of my Ague, whereof I had been long ſick, that I might write my Mind and Opinion to His Majeſty in a Letter, what was like to fall out concerning the great Rumour and Bruits of an apparent alteration. And being by reaſon of my foreſaid Diſtemper, unable for Travel, I ſent my return in Writing, ſhewing His Majeſty, that there was an univerſal miſcontent, with great bruits, not without appearance of probability of a ſudden change, occaſioned by the misbehaviour of ſuch as were managers at Court, and by the great ſtraits, and deſperate Eſtate of thoſe who were purſued, being men of Quality, Active and Experienced. And a greater number then could be born down or Maſtered, as I had frequently ſhewn His Majeſty before, without reſpect of feud or favour, but ſimply for His Majeſty's Service. Intreating His Majeſty again to ſet forward his former acceptable intentions, which he had reſolved to do when he went to St. *Andrews*. Seeing there was no other courſe adviſable, for ſetling his troubled Eſtate. This kind of language was the better liked, becauſe of ſo many Advertiſments that came daily to His Majeſty's Ears.

These bruits made His Majeſty be upon his Guard, and to uſe means to get intelligence. The lingring of the Earl of *Gaury* in *Dundie* gave ground of ſuſpicion. His Majeſty had alſo been advertiſed, That he had laid aſide his intentions of going abroad according to his former reſolutions, and that he was deſigning to wait upon the in-coming of the baniſhed Lords. His Majeſty alſo dreamed a Dream, that he ſaw the Earl of *Gaury* taken, and brought in Priſoner before him by Colonel *Stuart*. And he thought his Eſtate was thereby ſettled, which indeed for that time came true, becauſe the Lords who had taken *Sterling*, ſo ſoon as they underſtood of the taking of the Earl of *Guary*, fled incontinently out of *Sterling*, and at laſt out of the Country. Believing that the ſaid *Earl* had been taken willingly, ſuppoſing his affection to have been ſo great to His Majeſty, as being his near kinſman, come of the Houſe of *Angus*, his Mother being a Natural Daughter of the ſaid Houſe, that he would be thereby induced to diſcover the whole deſign. He not having been upon the firſt deſign of any enterpriſe, but drawn in afterwards by the craftineſs of others. Upon theſe conſiderations, His Majeſty had compaſſion upon him, and had no intention of taking his Life. But the Earl of *Arran* was fully reſolved to have his Lands, and therefore to make a Party to aſſiſt him in that deſign, he ingaged to divide them with ſeveral others, upon condition that they would aſſiſt him in the deſign of ruining him. Which afterwards he did, having by this means procured their Conſent, and Votes. At his death upon the Scaffold, he ſhewed himſelf a devout Chriſtian, and a reſolute *Roman*, much regrated by all who heard his grave Harangue, and did ſee his conſtant End.

After his death, there was quietneſs for a while, though without appearance of long continuance to ſuch as took up matters right. During this little while of fair Weather, there was a Parliament held to forfault the baniſhed Lords, wherein theſe were chiefly inſtrumental, who hoped to raiſe their particular Fortunes upon the ruine of their Neighbours.

Among others, it pleaſed His Majeſty to write for me. I was by him graciouſly received, and remembring ſome of my Speeches, he took me into his Cabinet, and inquired how I now reliſhed his proceedings. I anſwered, That he had reaſon to thank God, and no good management, and that I was aſſured there would be yet more enterpriſes: That they who took *Sterling*, and had retired again, would never ceaſe to make enterpriſe upon enterpriſe, till they might ſee themſelves in a better ſecurity. His Majeſty replied, That they had gained ſo little by their laſt in-coming, that he believed they would never commit ſuch a folly again. I anſwered, That had not the accidental taking of the Earl of *Gaury* fallen out, their enterpriſe would have been more ſucceſsful: For they ſuſpected, he was taken by his own deſire to bewray their enterpriſe: That otherwiſe they had gained their intent, ſeeing ſome who were then about His Majeſty would have concurred with them, to lay aſide the Earl of *Arran*, whom they aſſiſted for aw, and not for love, they hating his inſolency, and ſeeing no Outgate how to ſtand by him. And that there had for that effect been ſecret promiſes made to them, by inſtruments who went betwixt them. But ſeeing the Earl of *Gaury* in hands, and the ſaid Lords thereby ſo diſcouraged as to fly away, ſuch as had made the ſaid ſecret promiſes, took up a new deliberation, ſhewing themſelves their greateſt Enemies. While in the mean time, they but waited an opportunity of advancing their intentions.

About this time the Lord *Burleigh* chief Ruler in *England*, cauſed ſend in one Mr. *Daviſon* to be an Agent here, to ſee what buſineſs he could brew, who was afterwards made Secretary: For after the deceaſe of *Walſingham*, Secretary *Cicil* being advanced to be Lord *Burleigh*, and great *Treaſurer* of *England*, two Secretaries were choſen, one called Mr. *Smith*, and this *Daviſon*, whoſe Predeceſſor was a *Scotſman*. Upon which conſideration, he was thought more able to conquer credit here. He had been in *Scotland* before, and was at my houſe, in company with Sir *Henry Killegrew* my old friend, when he was Reſident in *Scotland*. At which time, he acknowledged to me that he was come of *Scotſmen*, and was a *Scotſman* in his heart, and a favourer of the King's Right, and Title to the Crown of *England*. He deſired me to keep all ſecret from Mr. *Killegrew*, promiſing if he could find the means to be employed here, that he would do good Offices.

His Majeſty was for the time at *Falkland*, and wrote for me, to be directed to ride and meet the ſaid *Daviſon*. Whom I was commanded to Convoy to *Coupar*, there to remain till his Majeſty had time to give him Audience. Afterward I Convoyed him to my own houſe, and from that to *Falkland*, where His Majeſty found his Commiſſion to ſmall avail. But becauſe *Walſingham* had refuſed at his being here, to ſpeak with the Earl of *Arran*, albeit the ſaid Earl had offered by me to give ſatisfaction to him in all his deſires, ſo that he would confer with him. Which *Walſingham* ſtill refuſed, but Mr. *Daviſon* was directed at this time to deal with the Earl of *Arran*, to ſee what advantage might be had at his hand. For my Lord *Burleigh* was not content that *Walſingham* was ſo preciſe; therefore *Daviſon* entred into familiarity with him, and was made his Goſſip, and heard his frank offers, and liked well of them. For after that the Lords were fled to

England, and forfaulted, the Council of *England* thought they had ſome ground to build a new faction upon, to trouble the King, and his Eſtate. And whereas the ſaid *Daviſon* had promiſed before to ſhew himſelf a kind *Scotſman*, I perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiſer againſt the quiet of this State, whereof I advertiſed His Majeſty.

After his return, *England* appeared not to have ſuch a fear, as it had formerly had at the Earl of *Arran*. For there was a meeting drawn on at the Borders, betwixt the Earl of *Hunſdon* and the Earl of *Arran*. Who had long and privy conference together, to keep a great friendſhip betwixt the two Princes and Countries; with a ſecret Plot, That the Earl of *Arran* ſhould keep the King unmarried for three years; under this pretext, That there was a young Maid of the blood in *England*: who about that time would be ready for marriage, whereupon the Queen would declare His Majeſty Second Perſon.

This was a deceitful Traffique and kept ſecret from every Body, the deſign thereof being to hinder the King to deal for any other honourable and profitable Match. The Earl of *Arran* thinking himſelf ſetled, being now in friendſhip with the Queen of *Englond* as he ſuppoſed, moved his Majeſty to ſend thither the Maſter of *Gray*, who was entred in great favour and familiarity with His Majeſty, by ſome ſecret dealing and intelligence he had with the Queen his Mother in *England*, by means of ſome of her friends in *France*. For being there at his Travels, and but lately returned, he brought ſome Letters directed from Her Majeſty to the King her Son, and conveyed the anſwers back again, by an intereſt he had in *England*, with ſome who favoured Her Majeſty. He was a great dealer alſo, between Her Majeſty and ſome Catholicks in *England*. He was a proper Gentleman, of a Noble Spirit, and fair Speech, and ſo well eſteemed by His Majeſty, that *Arran* thought fit to abſent him from Court by this Ambaſſage. Nevertheleſs he employed him alſo in the Courſe begun betwixt him and the Earl of *Hunſdean*. And yet when he was at the Court of *England*, ſo well eſteemed and treated as was reported by ſuch as were ſent back, it was alledged by ſome of the Maſter of *Gray*'s friends, that the Earl of *Arran* began to envy him, and miſrepreſent him unto His Majeſty, as if he had diſcovered unto the Queen of *England*, a great part of the Queen of *Scotlands* purpoſes, and proceedings. However the ſaid Maſter returned again well rewarded, and commended for his behaviour, qualities, and diſcretion unto the King's Majeſty, to the great increaſe of his Credit with the King. Not long after his return, he was informed what miſreports had been made of him in his abſence. Which he recompenced the beſt he could with Court Charity at convenient times, ſo that by little and little he began to Eclipſe *Arran*.

The Maſter of *Gray* alſo forewarned His Majeſty of a notable Perſon who was upon the way, ſent unto His Majeſty by the Queen of *England*, to do him honour, and to bear him company, to entertain a ſtricter friendſhip between that Queen and Him, than any had ever been intended before. And that the ſaid Ambaſſadour called Mr. *Wotton* would not trouble His Majeſty with Buſineſs, or Country Affairs, but would bear him company in his Paſtimes of Hunting, Hauking, and Horſe-riding; and entertain him with friendly,and merry Diſcourſes, as one come lately from *Italy*, and *Spain*, expert in Languages and Cuſtoms of Countries; and a great lover of his Maieſty's Title, and Right to the Crown of *England*. So that His Majeſty was ingaged to love him before he did ſee him, and cauſed with diligence to write to me to come and entertain the ſaid Ambaſſadour.

At my return to Court, I was the better taken with, that *Arran* was under ſome Cloud. The Maſter of *Gray* was then my great friend: For His Majeſty had told him, that I had ever reſiſted the Earl of *Arran*'s furious proceedings. His Majeſty deſired me, as I would do him acceptable Service, to bear good company to the ſaid Ambaſſadour, declaring unto me all his properties, and qualifications above ſpecified; willing me alſo to Banquet him at my houſe. But after I had converſed certain days with him, I remembred I had formerly ſeen him in *France* with Doctor *Wotton*, who was their Ambaſſadour Reſident for Queen *Mary* of *England*, the time that ſhe was married with King *Philip* of *Spain*. During which time, there were great ſuſpicions and jealouſies betwixt *France* and *England*. For tho there was hot War between *France* and *Spain*, yet the Peace continued ſtill with the Queen of *England*, who was lately married by the King of *Spain*. She appeared ſtill to keep the Peace with *France*; though in the mean time ſhe ſent over to *Flanders* both Men and Mony to the help of the King her Husband. The old *Conſtable* of *France*, my Maſter, who for the time had the whole management of the Country Affairs, under King *Henry* the Second, reproached the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, for that the Queen his Miſtreſs was doing her endeavour to break the Peace. The Ambaſſadour excuſed his Miſtreſs, alledging, That if any of his Country-men ſerved in the Wars under the King of *Spain*, that they would be found but Soldiers of Fortune, ready to ſerve any Man for Mony. She denied that ſhe knew of their paſſing into *Flanders*, or that ſhe disburſed any Mony for the Wars. Albeit that there was ground enough miniſtred unto her, by reciving and retaining in *France* all her Rebels and Fugitives, giving them Penſions and Intertainment, and ſtirring them up to enterpriſes againſt her Life, and Eſtate. This the Conſtable flatly denyed, only he ſaid, That out of a general good will which was born to *Engliſh-men* in time of Peace, they were ſuffered to live in the Country, which bears the name of *France*, becauſe their ſhould be Freedom and Franchiſe to every Chriſtian. The Ambaſſadour being wiſe and ſubtil, perceiving this anſwer to be but a ſhift, and that Wars would inevitably follow theſe kind of ſuſpicions; he intended by ſome ſubtilty to Circumvent the Conſtable, and for that effect had ſent to *England* for his Brother's Son, being One and Twenty years of Age, as well to employ him, as to teach him the *French* and *Italian* Languages. This youth being arrived in *France* with an *Iriſh* Boy to be his Interpreter, who could ſpeak *French*, both apparelled in mean array, to be the leſs ſuſpected to have any practiſe or policy in their minds. Like a Forreign young Man he addreſſed himſelf to ſome of the King of *France* his Courtiers, deſiring Audience of His Majeſty ſecretly, as having a matter of great importance to propoſe. The King again divers times directed him to deal firſt with the Conſtable. At laſt when he came to the Conſtable, he deſired alſo of him, that he might firſt declare unto the King his Errand, which was of great importance, although he knew that the King ſpoke with no Man in ſuch matters, until the Conſtable had firſt ſounded him, and then told his Opinion to the King, what anſwer were fitteſt to make. At length he ſaid, he would declare the matter unto the Conſtable, under promiſe of great ſecrecy, cauſing the Conſtable by this niceneſs to ſuſpect ſome practice. When he gave him Audience, he cauſed me to be preſent beſide him. At their meeting in the Conſtable's Cabinet; his *Iriſh* Interpreter was put forth, againſt his will, as appeared. But he was ſo inſtructed by the Ambaſſadour his Uncle, to uſe ſuch forreign and rude faſhions. Yet again e're he began to propoſe his Errand, he deſired ſecrecy. The Conſtable being an old, wiſe, experimented Councellor, put him a little aſide, and rounded in my Ear, to know if ever I had ſeen this young Man before. I anſwered, That I had obſerved him the preceding day at long conference with one Mr. *Sommer* Secretary to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour. Then the Conſtable thought, that he ſhould handle the matter well enough: for he inſtantly conjectured that all this niceneſs proceeded from the Ambaſſadour, to intrap him. So calling the young Man again, he deſired him to ſhew what he had to ſay. Mr. *Wotton* began to declare the great miſcontentment that was in *England*, not only for bringing in the proud *Spaniard* to Rule over them, but alſo for the alteration of Religion made by Queen *Mary*, moving ſome to Rebel, and others to remove off the Country, who nevertheleſs were all well received and treated by the King's Majeſty of *France*. Whereby he had gained the hearts of the third part of *England* ſo devoutly towards him, that they would gladly put the Crown of *England* on his head, (getting liberty in religion) to be quit of the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, and terrible Inquiſition, which was feared would alſo be eſtabliſhed in *England*. And for the firſt proof of their good will and gratitude, a number of Lords and Knights, who durſt not write, had ſent him ſecretly with an Overture to put the ſtrong Town of *Calis* into his hands, with the whole Earldom of *Oye*. At this the *Conſtable* made a ſtart, and ſaid, Know you not my friend, that there is a ſworn Peace betwixt your Queen and my Maſter? The other replied again, how that the Queen of *England* aided ſecretly, whith Mony and Men the King of *Spain* her Husband, in his Wars of *Flanders* againſt *France*. Which the Conſtable alledged that ſhe denied by her Ambaſſadour, willing him however to tell out the reſt of his Commiſſion. Then, ſaid he,my Lord, the means how you may get *Calis*, is this, Firſt, The moſt part of the Town is of the Reformed Religion, and are Malecontents, having refuſed to receive a Gariſon of *Spaniards*. And they are friends to thoſe who have ſent me, and keep correſpondence with them; only the Towns Ship keeps the Town, keeping Watch and Ward, being unskilful in handling their Arms. Therefore the King ſhall cauſe Monſieur *Senarpon* his Lieutenant in *Normandy*, to lye in ambuſcade at ſuch a Wood within a mile and an half of the Town, at an appointed day, then a Ship well furniſhed with Armed Men ſhall lye at Anchor half a mile from the Town. And ſome of them clothed like Marriners, ſhall come on Land, and have Swords and Piſtols under their Cloaths, and ſhall wait about two of the Afternoon, at which time the Ports of the Town are opened to let Men in, and out. Part of thoſe who attend the Ports, will be at their Dinner, when one or two will come before the reſt to open the Gates. Thus the Gates being eaſily ſeiſed upon, let one of the Company ſhoot off a Culverin, that the Ship may hear, and ſhoot a Cannon to cauſe *Monſieur de Senarpon* with his Company advance. In the mean time, there ſhall be a mutiny raiſed in the Town by our friends, and partners, ſo that the Town ſhall be obtained without ſtroke.

After that the Conſtable had heard all this long diſcourſe, he ſaid, That it was a very probable deſign, and he doubted not but it might be eaſily effectuated, but in reſpect of the ſworn Peace, the King his Maſter would not, nor ſhould never have his conſent to break it. But that he was much ingaged to the Noblemen who did bear him ſo much good will; and as for him who had taken ſo great paines, the King ſhould reward him, willing me to remember to cauſe give mony to the young Gentleman. So he gained nothing at the Conſtable's hand, and never came again to ſeek his reward; but was afterward manifeſtly known to be Brother's Son to Doctor *Wotton*, Ambaſſadour, as ſaid is.

This is he now who was ſent hither to bear His Majeſty company, as one who will not meddle with Practiſes, but with Paſtimes. But when I forewarned His Majeſty to beware of him, and told how that he being little above Twenty years old, was imployed to beguile the wiſe old Conſtable: Now he was Fifty years, and his Majeſty but Twenty, it was to be feared he would endeavour to beguile him. Yet His Majeſty would not believe me, but believed the ſaid Mr. *Wotton* to have a great kindneſs for him, and ſo he became one of his moſt familiar Minions, waiting upon him at all Field-paſtimes; and in appearance he deſpiſed all buſie Councellors, and medlers in matters of State; as he was inſtructed by ſuch as ſaid, he would pleaſe His Majeſty beſt to appear ſuch. But he had more hurtful fetches in his head againſt His Majeſty, then any *Engliſh-man* that ever came in hither had at any time before.

You have heard before of a meeting that was drawn on at the Borders, betwixt the Earl of *Hunſdean* and *Arran*; where at their ſecret conference *Arran* was required by the craft of the Lord *Burleigh*, and his faction in the *Engliſh* Council, to ſtop the King from any marriage for three years, upon many fair counterfeited promiſes; One whereof was, That he ſhould be declared Second Perſon, upon his marriage of the forenamed *Engliſh* Lady of the Blood. At which *Arran* granted all that was deſired, he was ſo glad to procure the Queen of *England*'s friendſhip. About that time the Queen of *England*, by her intelligence from *Denmark*, was advertiſed of a great and magnifick Ambaſſage, to be ſent from *Denmark* to *Scotland*, *viz.* Three Ambaſſadours, with Sixſcore Perſons, in Two gallant Ships. Whether ſhe ſuſpected, or had heard, that it was to draw on a marriage, I cannot tell. But this far I learned, that her Council judged it was to confirm at leaſt a greater friendſhip betwixt the two Kings, and their Countries, which was one of the Cauſes that moved them to ſend this Mr. *Wotton* to *Scotland*, to uſe all his wiles to diſturb and hinder any greater Amity, that might proceed from the ſaid Commiſſion, and Negotiation between their two Kings, and their Countries. For *England* truſted nothing to the Earl of *Arran*'s promiſe, for they eſteemed him as an inconſtant Man, as is already declared.

So ſoon as the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadours arrived by Ship in this Country, His Majeſty ordered me to entertain them, and bear them company. And becauſe they were three joined in Commiſſion, he willed me to chooſe any other two whom I thought meeteſt, to bear them company with me. I named unto His Majeſty the Laird of *Segie*, and *William Shaw* Maſter of *Wark.*

Firſt, At *Dumfarmling* they Congratulated His Majeſty in the King their Maſter's Name, with a long Diſcourſe of the old Amity, Bond, and mutual Friendſhip between the two Kings, and their Kingdoms. And laſt of all they required the Iſles of *Orkny* to be reſtored again to the Crown of *Denmark*, alledging they were mortgaged, to be redeemed again for the Sum of Fifty Thouſand Florins.

Their coming and demand was diverſly ſcanned, ſome ſuppoſing Wars would enſue, unleſs the ſaid Iſles were rendred, others thought that their intention was to bring on a marriage with the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter.

Now albeit His Majeſty was determined to treat them well, and honourably, they were nevertheleſs miſhandled, rufled, and delayed here the ſpace of   Months, to their great charge and diſcontent: for they lived upon their own expences, and were not defrayed by His Majeſty, as all other Ambaſſadours of that Nation have been ſince. When they were appointed to part out of *Dumfarmling* toward St. *Andrews*, there to get their diſpatch, His Majeſty ordered to tell them, That he would ſend them Horſes out of his own Stable, to ride upon. The day of their parting being come, they ſent away their Baggage and Officers before them, and were booted themſelves, waiting upon His Majeſty's Horſes, and becauſe they came not in due time, they went forward on foot. The King was much diſſatisfied when he underſtood how they were handled, and cauſed his Horſes to follow faſt after them, and overtake them. When they came to St. *Andrews*, divers appointed days of Council and Convention were broken unto them, which were promiſed to be kept for their diſpatch, for obtaining whereof they were very earneſt. Then Men were appointed to deride them at their Lodgings, and before their Windows when they lookt out to the ſtreet. So that nothing was left undone, which could enrage them, or ſtir them up to chollor. Only Mr. *Wotton* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour viſited them frequently, and did well and favourably entertain them, comforting them at all occaſions, appearing to be ſorry that they were ſo abuſed. He offered to lend them Gold and Silver largely, for the great friendſhip that he knew to be between the Queen his Miſtreſs, and the King of *Denmark*. For he was aſſured of good payment, and thought to purchaſe credit at their hands by his apparent friendly dealing. At length under great ſecrecy he ſaid he would not conceal from them, that he had heard the King ſpeak diſdainful language of their Country and Cuſtoms; and alſo, That ſome of his Gentlmen had heard the King ſpeak evil of their King, undervaluing him as being deſcended of a Race of Merchants.

chants. And he further aſſured them, That he and his Council were reſolved to keep them long here, without any diſpatch, to affront and weary them.

Then again the ſaid Ambaſſadour, and two of his Gentlemen informed his Majeſty of theſe hard Speeches, of the reproachful dealing they had met with from King and Council, reflecting upon their Maſter. He informed him alſo of the rude manners, and drunkenneſs of thoſe that were about His Majeſty, who had the like ſcornful language of the King of *Denmark*, his Country, and Ambaſſadours, moving His Majeſty to make the leſs of them. Whereby they were ſtirred up to ſuch a rage, that I had much to do to keep them two or three ſeveral times from going to their Ships, to have returned to their King without any anſwer, and to have given him an accompt of the diſdainfull uſage they had met with, and the injury thereby done to him. The Earl of *Arran* was alſo their great Enemy, becauſe they made no court to him, but rather ſlighted, ſome of their Company having known him in *Sweden* a Common Soldier. So that he was as ready as the reſt to mock and deride them; albeit at that ſame time the Ring-leaders about the Court were Combined together with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour againſt him.

The principal of the three Ambaſſadours was a wiſe, grave, and ancient Councellor. The ſecond was furious in his Speeches. The third cried out, *The King our Maſter is affronted, we muſt be revenged.*

I took the firſt apart, requeſting him to hear me patiently, for he ſpoke good *Dutch*, but mine was not ſo good. Therefore I deſired that he would more notice my meaning, then my words, and be more careful to cauſe his friendly Commiſſion to take effect, that he might return home with happy ſucceſs, then to withdraw abruptly, to be called unhappy Inſtruments of diſcord at the pleaſure of a few ſcornful Factioners, who had laid their heads together to cauſe them part diſſatisfied, and to be as inſtrumental in doing evil, as they were minded at their coming to do good.

I told him, how that the Queens Majeſty of *England* was a wiſe, well inclined, and politick Princeſs, and that there were as many honeſt and good Men in *England*, as in ſo much bounds in the whole World; abeit there was in it divers Opinions, and Factions, ſhooting at ſundry marks, as is done in all other parts. And becauſe that their Queen would never marry to have Succeſſion of her own Body, they were all very deſirous to know who after her ſhould Reign over them.

The moſt part of the Country, expects that it ſhall be our King, and wiſheth his welfare and proſperity, as being righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*, both by the Father and Mother's ſide. But thoſe who at preſent have a chief management at the Court, ſhoot at other particular marks of their own, minding to ſet forward ſome of themſelves, or of their friends, to brook the Kingdom. And for that cauſe, they make all the oppoſition they can to our King, becauſe of their unmerciful dealing to his Mother, for the which they fear ſome day to be puniſhed, when he comes to be King of *England*. For all theſe reſpects, they endeavour to keep him from marriage, and from all forreign Friendſhip and Alliance. This Ambaſſadour of *England*, is a very ill Inſtrument, both himſelf, and his Gentlemen, and hunting daily with His Majeſty, makes the worſt reports they can. The Ambaſſadour of *Denmark* anſwered to that, marvelling that Mr. *Wotton* ſhould make ſuch report of them, he offering them ſo great friendſhip, and giving them daily intelligence how they were ſcorned and mocked, both by the King and his Conncil, to his great regret, offering to lend them mony, and to do all other pleaſures to them that lay in his power. I replied, He knew well enough, that he would get good payment, and great thanks. For the King of *Denmark* was eſteemed a worthy Prince, and his Ambaſſadours worthy to be honoured ; but the guiders of the Court of *England* deſire not that our King ſhould think or eſteem ſo of them, wiſhing him to have but few Friends, and many Enemies. Then I aſſured him, That the King's Majeſty and all his Subjects, except ſome that were corrupted by *England*, were determined to entertain and increaſe a continual friendſhip with the King and Country of *Denmark* : Praying their wiſdoms couragiouſly to reſiſt, and not feebly and fooliſhly to give place to the ſaid crafty practices of their ſcornful enviers, by retiring abruptly, thereby ſuffering themſelves to be made evil Inſtruments, directly againſt their own Intention and Commiſſion, and they ſhould ſhortly ſee good ſucceſs to follow thereupon, to their great contentment. Promiſing unto them for my part, That I ſhould go inſtantly unto his Majeſty, and with all hazard that might be, ſhould diſcover unto him, how both he and they were deceitfully abuſed by the double dealing of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, and ſuch Courtiers as aſſiſted him.

Upon this diſcourſe and promiſe, they went to council all three together, as their cuſtom was. And after long conference, they gave me anſwer, That their coming was for to do good Offices. And albeit they had ſuffered ſundry injuries, they would be ſorry to be made Inſtruments of diſcord, ſo far againſt their Commiſſion and Intention, and therefore would yet ſtay upon hope of better handling, and upon my promiſe, albeit to that hour few or none had been kept to them.

After this, I ſhewed unto His Majeſty what great inconveniencies might enſue upon the long delaying, and ill handling of the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadours. And yet that I marvelled not that he made ſo little accompt of them, in reſpect of the great care, and fine practices, that were uſed to make him undervalue them, by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour and his Aſſiſtants, who had His Majeſty's Ear for the time. At the firſt His Majeſty was impatient to hear this language ſpoken of Perſons he had ſo good liking of, and ſaid, that he was Informed, That the King of *Denmark* was deſcended but of Merchants, and that few made accompt of him or his Country, but ſuch as ſpoke the *Dutch* Tongue. For this was put in his head to prevent any of my perſwaſions in their favour, leſt they ſhould get place or credit. I anſwered, That neither could the King of *France*, or Queen of *England* ſpeak *Dutch*, and yet they made great accompt to the King and Country of *Denmark*. *France* having their Ambaſſadour lying there, and paying yearly to the King of *Denmark* a great Sum of Gold, to the value of

Twenty Thouſand Crowns. His Majeſty ſaid, The more ſhame was his. I ſaid, Rather to the King of *France*, who muſt buy his kindneſs. Neither could the Queen of *England*, ſaid I, ſpeak *Dutch*, yet ſhe made much accompt of the King and Country of *Denmark*, and durſt not offend him, nor none of his Ships, both by reaſon of the ſtraight paſſage at *Elſoonure*, and alſo becauſe he had great Ships to make himſelf amends, in caſe ſhe did him or his any wrong. I ſaid, moreover, That whereas it hath been reported to Your Majeſty, the Race of their Kings not to be of Noble and Royal Blood, I ſhall ſhew Your Majeſty that it is but manifeſt invention to cauſe you to deſpiſe them. For this late King *Frederick* is deſcended of an Old and Royal ſtock, to wit, *Chriſtianus* of *Denmark*, the firſt of that name, who had two Sons, and one Daughter called *Margaret*, married into *Scotland* to *James* the Third his Eldeſt Son. *John* was King after him; his ſecond Son *Frederick* was King of *Norway*, and Duke of *Holſtein*. *John* had a Son called *Chriſtianus* the Second, alſo King of *Denmark*, who married *Charles* the Fifth his Siſter, who did bear him two Daughters: Whereof the Eldeſt was given in marriage to *Frederick* Elector Palatine; the Second to the Duke of *Millain*, and afterward, being a Widow, married the Duke of *Lorrain*. Himſelf was taken and kept in Priſon by his Subjects, for ſome rigorous Execution upon his Barons, and his Father's Brother *Frederick* was made King. After this *Frederick*, the Earl of *Altenbourg* was choſen by aſſiſtance of the Town of *Lubeck*, but *Chriſtianus* the Third, Son to the ſaid *Frederick*, put him out, and conquered the Kingdom. Nevertheleſs this *Chriſtianus* being a good Prince, would not change their old Priviledges, but cauſed himſelf to be choſen, and likewiſe his Son *Frederick* in his time, to Reign after him; who is now preſent King, and hath ſent his honourable Ambaſſage to Your Majeſty, as to his good friend, and kinſman, deſcended of the Kingly Race of *Denmark*. And whereas he requires again the Iſles of *Orkny*, it is for the diſcharge of his Oath, becauſe every King of *Denmark* at his Election, is ſworn to claim again the ſaid Iſles, which he hath done for the faſhion, and for no other effect, but to draw on a greater familiarity, and friendſhip. Or elſe he had not ſent ſo honourable a Company, but rather an Herauld of Arms, if he had been earneſtly bent either to get the ſaid Iſles, or to quarrel about them.

After that His Majeſty had heard this Diſcourſe far different to his former Informations, he was exceeding glad, and ſaid, he would not for his head, but that I had ſhewn the verity unto him; and that ſame afternoon he ſent for the ſaid Ambaſſadours, and acquainted them how near Allied he was to the King of *Denmark*. He excuſed their long delay, and promiſed inſtantly to ſee them diſpatched himſelf, and that within three or four days. He called for Wine, and did drink to them, and ſent them home very well content, and ſatisfied to their Lodgings. He commanded a Banket to be prepared for them, which His Majeſty's Controller and Officers were quietly forbidden to do, alledging the ſcantneſs of Proviſions. Which the Laird of *Segie* and I perceiving, we dealt with the Earl of *March*, who prepared a great Banquet for them in His Majeſty's Name, to the great diſſatisfaction of Mr. *Wotton*, and his Partiſans, who durſt not appear. And though they would not ſuffer His Majeſty to be preſent at the Banquet, but to Dine in his own Chamber, yet his Majeſty being informed by me how matters went, he roſe from his own Dinner, and went to the Banquet houſe, and drank to the King, Queen, and Ambaſſadours of *Denmark*, and ſo contented them. And he cauſed their diſpatch to be in readineſs, conform to his promiſe. But when I advertiſed His Majeſty, That there was no Preſent prepared for to reward them withal, he was wonderfully troubled, ſaying, They who had the management of his affairs, were reſolved to affront him.

Now at this time was the Earl at Court, not ſo much in favour as formerly. During the which time, there chanced a ſtrange miſrule to fall out at a day of meeting upon the Borders, which was ſet between the two Wardens: where Sir *Francis Ruſſel* upon the *Engliſh* ſide was killed. Whereupon the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour took occaſion to lay the blame upon the Earl of *Arran*, alledging, That the Laird of *Fernihaſt* who was Warden upon the *Scots* ſide had married the Earl of *Arran*'s Brother's Daughter. And that the ſaid Earl had cauſed the ſlaughter to be made, that the Borders might break looſe. In this complaint, the ſaid Ambaſſadour was well aſſiſted by the Maſter of *Gray* and his Companions. So that the Earl of *Arran* was Commanded to Ward within the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, and was kept ſtrictly there three or four days. So that being in fear of his life, he ſent for Colonel *Stuart*, the Laird of *Segie*, and me, and lamented to us his hard handling, purging himſelf, as he might juſtly do, of that accident that fell out upon the Borders, requeſting us to intercede for his liberty.

He declared unto us a ſecret to be ſhewn unto His Majeſty, in caſe his life was taken from him, which was a promiſe made unto the Queen of *England*, That the King ſhould not marry with any for the ſpace of three years, whereof I have formerly made ſome mention. Nevertheleſs he forgot not to travel for himſelf, for he ſent his Brother Sir *William* to the Maſter of *Gray* at midnight, promiſing to get unto him the *Abbey* of *Dumfarmling*, ſo that he would obtain his liberty at His Majeſty's hand. Which was incontinently granted, and alſo the ſaid Benefice diſpoſed unto the ſaid *Maſter*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour was in a great rage at the *Maſter*, but their diſcord was afterward agreed. Only Mr. *John Maitland* Secretary, and the Juſtice *Clerk*, and the Earl of *Arran*, were ordered to retire home to their houſes. But before *Arran*'s journey, His Majeſty was informed to deſire him, with all poſſible diligence, to lend him a great Gold Chain, which he had got from Sir *James Balfour*, which weighed Fifty-ſeven Crowns, to be given unto the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadours. Which if he had refuſed to do, he would have loſt His Majeſty, and in delivering it he loſt the Chain.

In the mean time, the Ambaſſadours underſtanding that their diſpatch was in a readineſs, took their leave of His Majeſty, who was alſo ready to part from St. *Andrews*. I informed His Majeſty not to deliver them the Diſpatch, becauſe the Chain was not yet come: For they were minded incontinently to make Sail, having ſtayed ſo long, and that the Winter Seaſon was at hand. Albeit that I had ſhewn to one of their familiar Servants, that certain rewards were to come within two days, praying them to ſtay ſo long. Which they would not grant to do, but went to their Ships: Whither I promiſed to bring their diſpatch, which I requeſted His Majeſty to cauſe deliver into my hand, to be kept till the Chain ſhould come; which was divided in three parts, for it was large. When I came to their Ships, they were going to Supper. Which being done, I delivered to them their anſwer in writing, with the Chains, and ſome excuſes for their long ſtay, and ſmall reward. So they parted well ſatisfied, aſſuring me that they would be good inſtruments of Amity. Albeit by the harſh uſage they had firſt met with they had once reſolved otherwiſe. They were not commanded to ſpeak of marriage, whereof there was ſome groundleſs bruit. The King their Maſter had fair Daughters, with any whereof it was ſuppoſed the claim of *Orkny* would go. They thanked me for the good Offices, they had received from me, ſeeing my ſtaying them from parting diſcontent, had preſerved the two Countries from being ingaged in War. Which, they ſaid, they would not fail to declare unto the King their Maſter, with whom they would not fail to make me acquainted, not doubting but that the King my Maſter would one day ſay, That I had done him good Service. So I did take leave, having rewarded the *Gunners*, *Trumpeters*, and *Muſicians*.

At my return to Court, I acquainted His Majeſty, that the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadours had ſet Sail for their own Country very well contented. I gave him a particular accompt of all Speeches, that paſt betwixt them and me at their parting. Whereupon His Majeſty took occaſion ſhortly after to ſend one to *Denmark*, offering that Commiſſion to me; which I ſhifted, perceiving thoſe who had His Majeſty's Ear, and had moſt Credit with him, to be altogether averſe from his marriage that way, holding ſtill one courſe with *England*. I named Mr. *Peter Young* Almoner, as very fit for that Errand: who was ſent to *Denmark*, to thank that King, and to ſee his Daughters, that he might make report again of his liking of them, with a promiſe, That e're long His Majeſty would ſend a more honourable Ambaſſage.

The Earl of *Arran* being ſent home, as ſaid is, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and his *Scotch* friends (as the Maſter of *Gray*, Secretary *Maitland*, and the Juſtice *Clark*) had chief credit and handling of his Majeſty's Affairs. The ſaid Ambaſſadour had procured ſuch favour and familiar acceſs about His Majeſty at all times, that he was upon an enterpriſe to have brought in ſecretly the baniſhed Lords, to have fallen down upon their knees in the Park of *Sterling* before His Majeſty, at ſuch a time as they ſhould have ſo many friends in Court, as that His Majeſty ſhould have remained in their hands as Maſters of the Court for the time. But this enterpriſe failed him, for they durſt not yet take ſuch hazardous courſe, till they might lay their Plots more ſubſtantially.

Then the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour interpriſed to tranſport His Majeſty out of the Park of *Sterling*, unto *England*. And failing thereof, His Majeſty was to be detained by force within the Caſtle of *Sterling*. Whether Companies of Men were ſent to be there at an appointed day, of which deſign my Brother Sir *Robert* got intelligence, and told it incontinently to the King's Majeſty, giving him the Names of the chief enterpriſers. And becauſe it came to one of their Ears, who ſtoutly affirmed the contrary, my Brother offered to maintain the truth thereof by Combat. Which His Majeſty would not permit, becauſe at laſt the perſon granted it to His Majeſty. Whereupon my Brother perſwaded His Majeſty with great difficulty, to depart out of *Sterling* for ten of fifteen dayes, and hunt at *Kincairdin*, before the enterpriſe were ripe. Which ſo ſoon as the Ambaſſadour underſtood, he fled in great fear and haſt, without Good night, or leave-taking of his Majeſty: Well inſtructed, and furniſhed with the promiſes of ſuch, as had aſſiſted him in our Court, to perſwade the Noblemen who were baniſhed in *England* to come home, where they ſhould find friends enough before them at Court, to put His Majeſty in their hands. The Maſter of *Gray* alſo abſented himſelf, and went to *Dunkel*, and there remained with the Earl of *Athol*. And upon ſome bruits of enterpriſes, there was a Proclamation ſet out in His Majeſty's Name, by ſuch as had his Ear, to purchaſe to themſelves the more Credit, to be true and careful Councellors to His Majeſty. Which Proclamation was afterward delayed by craft, that the baniſhed might prevent the day, and come in and get the King in their hands, whereby they might diſcharge the Proclamation at their pleaſure.

In the mean time I received a Letter to be at His Majeſty with all poſſible diligence, and another from the Earl of *Arran*, intreating me to accompany him from *Kinneal* to the Court. But I went to His Majeſty ſtrait, whither alſo the ſaid Earl came that ſame night. For he had procured liberty to return again to Court, and remain about His Majeſty.

At my coming to *Sterling*, I had Intelligence from a very ſure hand, That the ſaid Lords were already at the entry of the Borders, aſſiſted by my Lord *Hamiltoun*, my Lord *Maxwel*, my Lord *Bothwel*, my Lord *Hume*, and ſundry others, who had not formerly joyned with them. Alſo the Earl of *Athol*, the Laird of *Tillibardine*, *Buccleugh*, *Ceſfoord*, *Coudingknows*, *Drumlanrick*, and others, who were in greateſt credit about His Majeſty, were to join with them at their in-coming. Whereof I advertiſed His Majeſty, and Colonel *Stuart* who undertook to ride unto the Borders, and overthrow them, before they were wholly Convened together; which might very probably have been effectuated, if the deſign had not been craftily diſappointed by ſuch as were about His Maieſty, who appeared to ſet forward the Colonel's enterpriſe to pleaſe His Majeſty, and to conquer credit, ſaying, They would write to *Coudinknows*, *Buccleugh*, *Ceſfoord*, and ſuch others to aſſiſt him. Whom they knew to be upon the contrary Faction already, ſo that the deſign of ſcattering them was rendered by that Craft ineffectual. And becauſe I perceived the crafty intention, and that they feared I would therewith acquaint His Majeſty, they cauſed His Majeſty to ſend me a forged Errand to *Dunkel*, that they might the better bring their purpoſe to paſs without any contradiction. The pretext of my Commiſſion was to cauſe the Earl of *Athol* to ſtay at home, and not to join with the Lords who were to come ſhortly to *Sterling*. And by the way I was to deliver a Letter to the Baylies of St. *Johnſtoun*, to be upon their Guard, and not to ſuffer any of the King's Enemies to come within their Town. The

Bayliffs inquired of me, what if the Earl of *Athol*, and Maſter of *Gray* would deſire to come within their Town? I ſaid, They might let themſelves enter, with Ten in Company; but no more. They alledged, That their Letter ſpecified not that. I told them, That was committed to me by mouth, the Concluſion of my Letter willing them to credit me.

When I came to *Dunkel*, I knew that the Earl of *Athol* would not ſtay for me, who had a Thouſand Men in readineſs to take the Town of St. *Johnſtoun*, and to come thence to *Sterling*, with the Maſter of *Gray*, who was yet with him. But however I told him that the Collonel *Stuart* was gone with Forces, to defeat the Lords at their entry into the Country, before they might be joyned together. And that therefore he would do well to lye at home, till he might underſtand the Iſſue of the ſaid enterpriſe. If that took effect, it would be folly to him to march forward, and if it did not ſucceed, he might do as his heart ſerved him. He thought this Counſel good, deſiring me to write unto His Majeſty for a Licenſe to him, and his, to remain at home; which I did. In the mean time, the Maſter of *Gray* was ſent for to Court, the Ports of the Town of *Pearth* being refuſed to his Men, who were come out of *Angus* to aſſiſt him. At his returning to Court, he was as great with His Majeſty as ever he was, remaining with him within the Caſtle of *Sterling*. Where there were two Factions, who diſcovered themſelves ſo ſoon as they ſaw the Malecontents, and baniſhed Lords drew near unto the Town of *Sterling*. Whither they came to the number of Three Thouſand, and entred unto the Town without ſtop. His Majeſty inclined moſt to the Faction, who brought in the ſaid Lords, who adviſed His Majeſty to ſend ſome down to the Town, to Commune and Compound matters. Which was at length Agreed upon, and Concluded, That His Majeſty ſhould remain in their hands, that no rigour ſhould be uſed to thoſe who were about him. So that thoſe who were mediators, appeared to be good Inſtruments, and ſtayers of Blood-ſhed. For *Arran* was eſcaped, and fled at their firſt entry. But Colonel *Stuart* only with Ten or Twelve, gave them ſuch a charge in the midſt of the narrow part of the Town, that a little more help might have put them in great diſorder. For the moſt part of their South-land Men were buſie, ſpoiling Horſe and Goods.

The Lords, when they came into His Maieſty's preſence, fell down upon their knees, humbly begging pardon. Adding, That the hard handling by *Arran*, and other partial Perſons about His Majeſty, had compelled them upon plain neceſſity, and for their laſt refuge to take the boldneſs to come in Arms, for the ſurety of their Lives, and Lands, being ever humbly minded to to ſerve His Majeſty, and obey him

The King again like a Prince full of Courage and Magnanimity, ſpoke unto them pertly, and boaſtingly, as though he had been Victorious over them, calling them Traitours, and their enterpriſe plain Treaſon, Yet, ſaid he, in reſpect of your neceſſity, and in hope of your good behaviour in time-coming, he ſhould remit their faults. And the rather, becauſe they uſed no vengeance, nor cruelty, at their in-coming.

In the mean time, His Majeſty committed and recommended the keeping of the Earls of *Montroſe*, and *Crauford*, unto my Lord *Hamiltoun*. And the keeping of Colonel *Stuart* unto my Lord *Maxwel*. Theſe three were for a time in ſome danger, becauſe they had too violently eſpouſed *Arran*'s intereſt. The reſt of His Majeſty's Servants, were over-lookt. Sir *Robert* my Brother, and his Son, were both courteouſly uſed. This moderate behaviour of the Lords, conquered daily more and more favour from His Majeſty. They preſſing him in nothing but in humble Interceſſion of ſuch as formerly had his Ear. A Parliament was proclaimed at *Lithgow* for their reſtitution, whither His Majeſty was convoyed to paſs his time at Hunting, thereby to Recreat his Spirits.

Many Noblemen, and others, were written for, to come unto the ſaid Parliament. Among the reſt, the Earl of *Athol*, to whom I had been ſent, and with whom I was, at the Lords coming to *Sterling*. Where I was waiting upon an anſwer from His Majeſty, of the Letter which the Earl of *Athol* had deſired me to write, as ſaid is. When I came to kiſs His Majeſty's hand, I was gladly made welcome. His Majeſty alledging, That I was *Corbie*'s Meſſenger. I anſwered, That my abſence with the Earl of *Athol* had ſaved all my own Horſe, and the Town of *St. Johnſtoun* untaken, and had kept the ſaid Earl from aſſiſting with the reſt. So that if thoſe who had remained at *Sterling* with him, had kept the South, as well as I had done the North, their Horſe had been ſafe as well as mine was. His Majeſty ſaid, That God had turned all to the beſt: For he had been before made believe, that he would be in danger of his life, in caſe theſe Noblemen had ever any more power about him. And yet thought they had both Him, and his Servants in their power, they had uſed no rigour nor vengeance. His Majeſty remembred how frequently I had forewarned him of this, and the like accidents, that I ſaid would follow upon the Earl of *Arran*'s raſh proceedings. He acknowledged, he had been a bad Inſtrument, and declared he ſhould never have more Place, or Credit about him. He deſired me to wait at Court, and help to do all good Offices betwixt him and his Nobility. And to tell them the truth, who was to blame for their trouble, as having occaſioned the ſame; ſeeing he had great prejudice, and no advantage thereby; it being far from his inclination to ſeek any Man's Life, Lands or Goods, but only the peace and quiet of the Country and the ſettling of the Subjects among themſelves. Which I could teſtifie for a truth, the verity thereof conſiſting within my knowledg. His Majeſty told me alſo, how he had ſhewn unto the Noblemen my honeſt and friendly advices toward them, and that I oppoſed my ſelf continually to the Earl of *Arran*'s proceedings. He deſired me alſo to help to ſatisfie the Miniſters, who were ſeeking to be reſtored unto their former free Aſſemblies, which he had forbidden them at the advice of the Earl of *Arran*. The ſame being one of the occaſions of all the following troubles, which were chiefly grounded upon the diſſatisfaction of the Miniſters, by whom the Country was influenced. So that I tarried a while at Court, till matters began to take ſome ſetling. Divers of the Lords alſo were earneſt with me to ſtay, offering me great kindneſs: ſaying, That His Majeſty had told them, every

Man's part, and behaviour in relation to their Baniſhment and Perſecution. And that I was ever for a moderate Courſe, deſiring, and preſſing, as His Majeſty's intereſt, an Act of Oblivion to be Paſt for all by-gones during his Minority. The ſaid Lords therefore cauſed me to propoſe ſome of their ſuits to His Majeſty, whom in nothing they would preſs beyond his own pleaſure.

But the Council was of different opinions concerning the reſtoring of the Miniſters to their former Priviledges, and Freedoms, where I was brought in to give my Opinion. The greateſt part thought fit to delay them for a time, chiefly ſuch as had remained about his Majeſty, and had ſaid too much before to the contrary. But they had yet ſome private deſigns hatching in their heads, which could not be brought about, if the Country were wholly in Peace. Which they knew would be, were the Miniſters ſatisfied. My Opinion was, That His Majeſty was not to be blamed, that the Noblemen were baniſhed, or the Miniſters Priviledges taken from them, ſeeing all theſe inſolencies were committed by evil Inſtruments, who ruled over His Majeſty's good mind to ſatisfie their own Ambition. Who now being fled and abſent, I knew no reaſon why the Miniſters ſhould not be reſtored to their former Priviledges, as well as the Noblemen to their Lands, and Honours; the one being no leſs contributive to the ſetling of the Kingdom, as the other. Seeing if this were omitted, the blame would ſtill lye upon His Majeſty, and the Country would be ſtill in trouble. The Secretary *Maitland*, was againſt this Opinion; for he had formerly ſpoken too much on the contrary. But the reſt of the Noblemen, and the Council, thought my Opinion beſt. But yet at that time it was not followed, nor granted at that Parliament. Yet ſhortly after, it was found His Majeſty's intereſt, and conducing for fully Eſtabliſhing Peace in the Country, that the Miniſters ſhould be reſtored to all their former Priviledges.

It is above-mentioned, That the Mr. *Almoner* was ſent to *Denmark*. Shortly after Colonel *Stuart* took occaſion to go thither about his own affairs; for he had a Penſion of the King of *Denmark*. He obtained alſo ſome writing, whereby he was Commiſſioned to ſpeak of the Kings marriage with the King of *Denmark*'s Eldeſt Daughter. And they both returned with ſo good and friendly anſwers, that there was little more mention made of the reſtitution of the Iſles of *Orkny*. The King of *Denmark* was alſo put into hope by them, that His Majeſty would ſend the next Summer an honourable Ambaſſage to *Denmark*, to deal further in theſe matters.

I have ſhewed already the dangerous practices of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour Mr. *Wotton*, and a part of their effects, but the principal is yet behind.

The Council of *England* having concluded to take the Life from the Queens Mejeſty his Highneſſes Mother, after ſhe had been many years kept Captive in *England*, thought firſt to get the King her Son in their hands, and to put him in hope that he ſhould obtain the Crown of *England*, the rather that he was within their Country. And in the mean time to be ſure, that he ſhould not be able to revenge his Mothers death, but might be as a pledge among them, in caſe his Country-men, or his Forreign and *French* friends, would pretend to menace them, or to make war for his Liberty, or in revenge of her death. For in that caſe they might threaten to cut him off, if for his Cauſe they ſhould be troubled. And however it were, through time it was ſuſpected that they intended to take his life alſo, after that they had laid their Plots how to make him odious to the People by falſe counterfeit Letters, and alledged practices, (as they had craftily and deceitfully alledged upon his Mother) againſt the State. But finding this their deſign of carrying him to *England*, diſcovered by my Brother's intelligence, the ſaid Ambaſſadour fled as ſaid is. And for the next beſt, thought fit to ſee His Majeſty put in the hands of the moſt part of the Nobility, who were baniſhed for the time, and during their baniſhment had been ſheltered in *England*, who they thought by fitted Inſtruments might be ſtirred up to take his Life, at leaſt to keep him in perpetual Priſon, in revenge of the injury had been done them. But herein they were diſappointed: For they uſed themſelves ſo moderately, and diſcreetly, that they ſought nothing but their own native Country, and Lands, and that they might have acceſs to ſerve and obey their Prince, without any further vengeance, or rigour againſt their particular Enemies. As their actions and proceedings have ſufficiently declared ſince, to the great increaſe of their favour with His Majeſty, and eſtimation of the whole Country.

It hath been rarely or never ſeen in any Country, that there have been ſo great alterations, with ſo little bloodſhed, as hath been in *Scotland* in this Kings time. Now thoſe who are Enemies to our Queen, and King's Title to the Crown of *England*, ſeeing ſome of their fetches to fail them, entred in deliberation what way to proceed to take the Queen's life. The Council of *England*, a great part of the Nobility, and States, fell down upon their knees, humbly requeſting Her Majeſty to have compaſſion upon their unſure Eſtate, albeit ſhe ſhould ſlight her own. Alledging, That her life was in hazard by the practices of the Queen of *Scotland*, and their Lives and Fortunes. She alledged, That her heart would not ſuffer her to let any Sentence be given forth againſt the Queen her dear Siſter, and Couſin, ſo near of her Royal Blood. Yet ſhe was at laſt moved for very pity of their conditions, to let Sentence of Death paſs againſt her, upon this expreſs condition, That it ſhould rather ſerve to be a Terrour to her, to oblige her to ceaſe from making any more practiſes, then that ſhe really intended to ſee the Blood of ſo noble a Princeſs ſhed. And in the mean time, the written Sentence was given to be kept to Mr. *Daviſon* one of her Secretaries, not to be delivered without her Majeſties expreſs Command. Nevertheleſs the ſaid *Daviſon* being deceived by the Council, delivered unto them the ſaid written Sentence of Death. Whereupon they gave the Queen warning a night before, to prepare her for God. Which ſhort warning ſhe took very patiently, and lay not down that night to ſleep, but wrote ſome Letters unto the King her Son, the King of *France*, and ſome other Princes, her friends. And after ſhe had made her Teſtament, ſhe put the Gold ſhe had, in as many little Purſes as ſhe had Servants, more or leſs in every Purſe, conform to their qualities, and deſervings. The reſt of the night ſhe employed in Prayer, and being in the morning conveyed out of her Chamber to the great Hall where the Scaffold was prepared, ſhe took her death patiently, and conſtantly, couragiouſly ending her life, being cruelly handled by the Executioner, having received divers ſtroaks of the Ax. Which execution was the boldlier performed, becauſe that ſome *Scotſmen* aſſured them, that the King her Son would ſoon forget it. Albeit His Majeſty when he underſtood this ſorrowful news, took heavy diſpleaſure, and Convened a Parliament, wherein lamenting the miſhandling of his Mother by his Enemies, who were in *England*, he deſired the aſſiſtance of his Subjects to be revenged. Where all the Eſtates in one voice cryed out in a great rage to ſet forward: Promiſing that they ſhould all hazard their Lives, and ſpend their Goods and Eſtates largely to that effect, to revenge that unkindly, and unlawful murther. Which put the Council of *England* in great fear for a while, but ſome of our Country-men comforted them, and ſo did ſome *Engliſh* that haunted our Court, alledging it would be ſoon forgot. Others ſaid, That the Blood was already faln from His Majeſty's heart, and if it were not, they doubted not but to cauſe the matter fall out to their ſatisfaction.

Firſt when the King's Majeſty heard that they were about to Accuſe and Convict his Mother, he ſent the Maſter of *Gray*, and Sir *Robert* my Brother, to deal for her Majeſty. Where my Brother ſpoke brave and ſtout language to the Council of *England*. So that the Queen her ſelf threatned his life, and afterward he would have been retained Captive, had not the Maſter of *Gray*'s Credit prevented it, and the promiſes he made, whereby they were both ſuffered to come home together.

Four Months before His Majeſty cauſed ſend for me, that I might prepare my ſelf for *England*, to confirm a Band of Alliance Offenſive and Defenſive with the Queen and Crown of *England*; and to take the Queen of *Englands* Oath for obſerving the ſaid Bond. And Mr. *Randolph* who was here, was to take the King's Oath, and uſe the like Ceremonies here.

At my coming to Court, I did what I could to be ſhifted of the ſaid Commiſſion, being a matter of ſo great conſequence, as an indirect breaking of the Bond with *France*. Yet His Majeſty would take no excuſe, but thought fit to ſend me thither, that I might get him ſure knowledge of ſundry things, which His Majeſty ſuppoſed an other would not get. By reaſon that all his Mothers friends, and his own that were in that Court and Country, were beſt and longeſt acquainted with my Brother and me. But ſo ſoon as Mr. *Randolph* had heard that I was to be ſent to *England*, he deſired Audience of His Majeſty, and uſed all the perſwaſions he could, to get me ſtayed, and another ſent that might be found meeter for the time. After this His Majeſty had reaſoned long with him thereabout, he called upon me, and told me how that Mr. *Randolph* had ſpoken ſo much good of me, whom he loved better then any *Scots* Subject, upon accompt of our old acquaintance, but had ſaid that I would not be acceptable to the Queen his Miſtreſs at that time, becauſe Sir *Robert* my Brother had been always, and was yet upon his Mothers Faction, and alſo that my Brother Sir *Andrew* of *Garvock* was for the preſent in *England* her Majeſties Maſter of the Houſhold. His Majeſty ſaid, he replied again, That I was never eſteemed a Factious Perſon, and ſo would not yield at the firſt. But I requeſted His Majeſty to grant him his deſire. For I had no will of that Commiſſion, knowing that there was nothing meant, but fraudful dealing by *England* with him at that time. It is for that cauſe, ſaid he, that I would have you there. And it is for that ſame cauſe, Sir, ſaid I, that I would gladly ſhun the ſame with Your Majeſty's favour.

His Majeſty ſaid, he wondered that *Randolph* ſhould ſeem to like ſo well of me, and yet deſire another to be ſent. I anſwered His Majeſty that in *France* and *Italy* we liked each other very well, but in the handling His Majeſty's affairs we ſhot at ſundry marks. His Majeſty would ſtill have me to accept that Commiſſion, and asked whom I believed that Mr. *Randolph* would deſire to be ſent. I anſwered, either the Maſter of *Gray*, or Mr. *Archibald Douglas*. For the Maſter of *Gray* had made moyan for Mr. *Archibald*, and had brought him home out of *England*, and had ſummoned an Aſſize of his own friends to cleanſe him of the late King's Murther. And being cleanſed, he haunted the Court familiarly with His Majeſty. It was he indeed whom Mr. *Randolph* deſired to be ſent, or the Maſter of *Gray*, or both in a Commiſſion. But His Majeſty would not conſent thereto. Then the Laird of *Coudinknows* Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* deſired the Commiſſion. But Mr. *Randolph* would have none other, cauſing the Queen his miſtreſs to write back, that it was unneceſſary to ſend any Ambaſſadour for that Errand at that time. Only deſiring that the King would write with his own hand, that one ſhould be ſent when ſhe thought time, aſſuring by his ſaid Letter that it was in effect already concluded in his mind, as if the Ceremony were preformed. Which Letter was ſent to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, who was reſident in *France* for the time, to be produced before the King of *France*, and the Queen Mother, to let them know that albeit the King of *Scotland* was ſuiting her Majeſty for an Alliance Offenſive and Defenſive (which would be a clear breach of the old Bond with *France*) yet ſhe would not put them in ſuſpicion and jealouſie of her in conſenting thereto, as not much valuing the *Scottiſh* King's fickle friendſhip, or feud, ſo long as *France* and ſhe kept their Peace and Friendſhip together, Which was done only to diſgrace and diſcredit the King with the King of *France*. So that there proceeded no more from the ſaid intended Bond. And I was not a little ſatisfied that my hands had been free thereof.

Likewiſe when the bruit was of the *Spaniſh* Navy in the year 1587, that they were coming to theſe parts, I was ordered to be ſent to *Spain*, which Voyage I happily alſo eſchewed.

Now to return again to Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, he returned back to *England*, to remain Ambaſſadour there for His Majeſty. By the which means he obtained the greater Credit with the Queen His Majeſties Mother, to her no ſmall prejudice; the ſame contributary to her ruine, he having diſcovered ſeveral paſſages betwixt her and himſelf, and other Catholicks of *England*, tending to her liberation. Which were made uſe of againſt Her Majeſty, for taking her life. So ſoon as my Brother Sir *Robert* was ſent there to uſe ſharp and boaſting Language to ſee if it might ſave the Queens life, he diſcharged Mr. *Archibald* of the Office of *Ambaſſadour*. This I ſet down in a parentheſis, to ſhew how far a good King was abuſed, and miſled, by minions, whom he liked well to his great hurt and diſhonour. In the mean time for ſome diſorder upon the Weſt Border, betwixt the *Maxwels* and *Johnstouns*, His Majeſty went there to reform the diſobedience. But ſome Houſes were kept out, and would not render unto him. Whereupon, Mr. *John Martland* being made *Chancellor*, the *Maſter* of *Gray*, and other Favourers of the *Engliſh* Faction, did counſel His Majeſty to ſend to *Berwick*, becauſe it was alledged to be neareſt, to borrow Cannons to beſiege the ſaid houſe. Which Guns were readily and gladly lent by the Governour of *Berwick*. Which apparently he durſt not have done, without knowledg and conſent of the Queen and Council, who judged thereby that His Majeſty had forgot the great boaſt that was made at the fore named Parliament concerning the revenge of His Mother's death. For after His Majeſty had riply conſidered the beſt and worſt of that deed, remembred himſelf of the many Friends he had in *England*, who had no hand in his Mother's Death, he thought it not juſt to trouble the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom for the deed of a few who guided the Queen and Court, he being thereof himſelf apparent Heir. And alſo becauſe the Queen was of good years, and not like to live long, he was reſolved to abide his time to be revenged upon his Enemies. As for the Queen his good Siſter, ſhe had ſworn and purged herſelf of the death of his Mother, being deceived by her Council, and Secretary *Daviſon*, whom ſhe committed to the Tower of *London*. This was the way of conveyance of that ugly unkindly Murther.

Shortly after this, there was a great Bruit of the *Spaniſh* Navy bound to land in *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*. And then alſo were entred about His Majeſty a new Faction, whereof the Earl *Huntly* was chief, who had lately married the Duke of *Lennox*'s Siſter. This new Faction aſpired by little and little to ſhoot out the Maſter of *Gray*, the Chancellour, and others their dependers, and to retain part of thoſe who were in Court before, where there were divers conſpiracies to kill the Chancellour. And ſuch as had aſſiſted him, were to be removed, becauſe they did ſtick too long by the Court. The Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwel*, and others, thought to have taken the King and kept him. And albeit two of their Enterpriſes had failed, yet they were deſirous to be neareſt His Majeſty at the in-coming of the *Spaniards*. And in the mean time they reſolved to cauſe the King ſend Sir *John Seatoun* to *Spain*. But His Majeſty would have none to be ſent but me. Whereupon the Chancellor, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, did write to me, deſiring me to refuſe the imployment, becauſe they ſaid his Majeſty would have one there of his own Religion, who would not be corrupted, in whom he could truſt. Yet His Majeſty had inclination to deal with *Spain*, and I had as little deſire to undertake the Voyage, albeit Sir *Gorge Douglas* deſired the ſaid Commiſſion, as one who had aſſiſted His Majeſty's Mother, yet it took no effect. The Earl of *Huntly* in the mean time procured a Gift of the Benefice of *Dunfermling*, which was lately taken from the Maſter of *Gray* now decourted, and given to him. How that the *Spaniſh* great Navy was three years in making their preparations, and were ſufficiently and ſubſtantially furniſhed with Men, Ammunition and all ſorts of neceſſaries, is now manifeſt to all *Europe*. What was their intent and purpoſe was ſo ſecret, that the

Chieftains of the Army knew no more, but as they ſhould underſtand by the opening of their ſtamped inſtructions at every appointed landing Place. Many were of opinon, that they wear firſt diſappointed by the Duke of *Parma* Governour of *Flanders*, who had behaved himſelf in his Charge ſo circumſpectly, in his promiſes ſo truly, in enterpriſes ſo ſtoutly, that he won the hearts of his Soldiers, and the favour of his Enemies, ſo that he was ſuſpected by the King of *Spain* to entertain deſigns of Uſurping the Eſtate of *Flanders*. And therefore he was minded to remove him out of that great and rich Government. He being hereupon diſcontent, as was alledged, neither furniſhed the ſaid Army Victuals, nor aſſiſted them with Ships, nor would he ſuffer them to land in his bounds. At laſt they were ſo jealous of him, that they landed not, but were lying at Anchor, where Sir *Francis Drake* by a ſtratagem ſubtilly deviſed of a Ship full of powder with a burning Link, which kindled up the Powder ſo ſoon as the the *Engliſh* Ship was driven by a direct vehement Wind within the midſt of the *Spaniſh* Ships, burning thereby ſeveral of the greateſt of them, and cauſing the reſt to cut the Cables of their Anchors for haſt, to eſchew the fury of the fire. And in the mean time God ſent ſuch a vehement ſtorm of Wind, that the whole Navy was blown and broken upon divers Coaſts of our Iſles, and of *Ireland*, and their Wreck was the greater, that they wanted their Anchors.

It is before mentioned, That Mr. *Peter Young* Almoner to His Majeſty, and Colonel *Stuart* were returned from *Denmark* well rewarded, and contented with every thing that they had ſeen, and chiefly with the fair young Princeſs; and alſo how they had put the King of *Denmark* in hope, that the King ſhould the next Summer ſend thither an honourable Ambaſſage, to deal further to the increaſe of a greater Amity. And for this effect, the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Liard of *Segie*, and I were named to be ſent: But I was retired, and had no will to medle, perceiving His Majeſty's affairs ſo retarded by ſuch as had greateſt handling about him. Therefore upon my refuſal, the Chancellour adviſed the Laird of *Barnbarrow*, and the ſaid Mr. *Peter*, to be again employed in that matter, with uncertain and irreſolute Inſtructions to propoſe marriage, and with divers fair allegiances concerning His Majeſty's ſufficient Right to the Iſles of *Orkny*, which the King of *Denmark* was minded to uſe the more ſharply, but for the hope he was put in, of the apparent marriage of the Kings Majeſty with his Eldeſt Daughter.

Theſe Ambaſſadours were not well imbarked, when Monſieur *Dubartus* arrived here to viſit the King's Majeſty, who, he heard, had him in great eſteem, for his rare Poeſie ſet out in the *French* Tongue. He would not ſay that he had a ſecret Commiſſion to propoſe the Princeſs of *Navarre* as a fit Marriage for His Majeſty, but that the King of *Navarre*'s Secretary willed him, ſeeing he was to come this way, as on his own head, to propoſe the ſaid marriage. Monſieur *Dubartus*'s Qualities were ſo good, and his Credit ſo great with his Majeſty, that it appeared if the Ambaſſadours had not already made Sail, that their Voyage ſhould have been ſtayed for that Seaſon. The Chancellour aſſured Monſieur *Dubartus*, (as he ſhewed me) that the marriage of *Denmark* ſhould not take effect. For our Ambaſſadours had indeed ſuch ſtrait

Inſtructions, and ſo ſlender a Commiſſion, that it was enough to have cauſed the King of *Denmark* to ſtart, and to quarrel with our King, were it not that they dealt above their Commiſſion. Which kept that King in ſome Temper, albeit they returned without fruit, full of diſpleaſure, thinking themſelves ſcorned, as they were indeed.

In the mean time that they were in *Denmark*, Mounſieur *Dubartus* being in *Falkland* with his Majeſty, came to my houſe, to perſwade me to take a Commiſſion in hand, which he ſaid His Majeſty would lay to my charge, which was to be ſent unto the King of *Navarre*, and to be acquainted with Madam the Princeſs, his Siſter. And becauſe His Majeſty knew that I would be loath to go, he named alſo my Lord *Tungland*, my Brother, who undertook the journey, and became well acquainted with the ſaid Princeſs, and was well treated and rewarded by the King her Brother, now King of *France*, and brought with him the Picture of the Princeſs, with a good repott of her rare qualities.

The Laird of *Barnbarrow*, and Mr. *Peter Toung*, being returned back from *Denmark*, declared that the King of *Denmark* thought nothing of their Commiſſion, judging it but fruitleſs dealing, and delaying of time, and fair language, without any power to conclude. I am uncertain, whether he got intelligence of His Majeſties ſending my Brother to the King of *Navarre*. But the marrying of his Eldeſt Daughter with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, gave ſome appearance that he had got ſome notice thereof from the Court of *England*, who were abundantly well informed of all our proceedings.

After this, Colonel *Stuart* deſirous to ſee the marriage with the King of *Denmark's* Daughter take effect, went thither upon his own expences divers times. And ſeeing the Eldeſt Daughter already married, he excuſed the King's Majeſty, and laid the blame upon thoſe who had the handling of his Affairs. So that the King of *Denmark* promiſed yet to give his ſecond Daughter unto the King, upon conditions that Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent there the next year, before the firſt day of *May*. In the mean time, the King of *Denmark* took ſickneſs, and departed this life, leaving the ſame Commiſſion with his Council, and ſuch as were appointed for Regents of the Realm.

Now the King being ſuited in marriage by many great Princes, and his Ambaſſadours being come back both out of *Denmark*, and *Navarre*, with the Pictures of the young Princeſſes; His Majeſty determined firſt to ask counſel of God by earneſt Prayer, to direct him where it would be meeteſt for the weal of himſelf, and his Country. So that after fifteen days adviſement, and devout Prayer, as ſaid is, he called his Council together in his Cabinet, and told them how he had been adviſing about that matter of ſo great concernment to himſelf, and his Country, the ſpace of fifteen days, and that he was now reſolute to marry in *Denmark*.

The Council appeared all to reliſh his reſolution, requiring meet Inſtruments to be imployed to compleat the marriage, and to make the Contract. Then His Majeſty ſaid, That he had already choſen me in his mind for one, deſiring the Council to chooſe another; which they did, to wit, The Lord of *Atry*, Uncle to the Earl of *Marſhal*. We two being written for, and come to Court, found not ſuch earneſtneſs with the Council as with the King: Which my Lord of *Atry* perceiving, he drew home again, excuſing himſelf upon his Age, and Sickneſs. His Majeſty uſed many perſwaſions, and reaſons, to induce me to undertake the Voyage, declaring how he had many times ſent for me to be imployed in Ambaſſages, and could never tell why I went not. I anſwered, That His Majeſty would have done me that honour many times above my deſerving, which he would not have done, if he had known my inſufficiency for ſuch matters of ſo great import, as I did my ſelf. His Majeſty ſaid, That this buſineſs concerning his marriage, was the greateſt matter that ever he had to do, and that he would take no refuſal. I ſaid, That my Lord *Tungland*, my Brother, was far meeter than my ſelf, being a good Scholar, who could perfectly ſpeak the *High Dutch*, the *Latine*, and the *Flemming* Languages, with the *French* Tongue. But His Majeſty would ſtill repoſe upon me in that Errand, but at my deſire was ſatisfied that my Brother ſhould be put in Commiſſion with me.

Then His Majeſty ſaid, Albeit the Council will form your Inſtructions, yet you ſhall receive mine out of my own mouth.

Firſt, *If the King of* Denmark *had been alive, he would not have ſtood to have given a great Portion with his Daughter, wherein it is probable the Regent and his Council will be as ſparing as they can. I doubt not therefore but you will endeavour to draw from them as much as can be had; but at length ſtand not upon mony to conclude the marriage.*

Secondly, *Know what friendſhip and aſſiſtance they will make me, when it may pleaſe God to place me by Right in the Kingdom of* England, *by deceaſe of this Queen, in caſe any Country-man, or other would wrongouſly pretend to uſurp and debarr me from the ſame.*

Thirdly, *concerning the Iſles of* Orkny, *you may chuſe any Man of Law that you pleaſe, for that Head muſt be anſwered, and debated by Form of Law. Alwiſe if the marriage take effect, that purpoſe would not be over preciſely handled. It may be that my Council will give you ſtraiter Conditions, but this Inſtruction of mine you ſhall follow, let them ſay what they pleaſe.*

I told His Majeſty, That I would chuſe to take with me for a Lawyer Mr. *John Skeen*. His Majeſty ſaid, he judged there were many better Lawyers. I ſaid, he was beſt acquainted with the *German* Cuſtoms, and could make them long Harangues in *Latine*; that he was a good, true, ſtout Man, like a *Dutch-man*. Then his Majeſty was content, that he ſhould go with me.

After that I had tarried long at Court, and could ſee no preparation for our Diſpatch, neither Money, nor Ship making ready; the appointed time wherein we ſhould have been in *Denmark* being paſt, to wit before the firſt of *May*. For it was ſo ordered by the King of *Denmark* e're he died, that in caſe that day was not kept, that they might think themſelves but ſcoffed. This moved me to employ my friends at Court, to cauſe another to be named in my place, ſeeing ſo many ſuiting to get the ſaid Commiſſion. And the Chancellour gave me ſuch terrors as he could for his part.

Now the Earl of *Marſhal* was deſirous to ſupply the place of his Uncle my Lord of *Atry*, and His Majeſty was content that he ſhould be ſent thither. Whereupon I took occaſion to repreſent to His Majeſty

jeſty, That the ſaid Earl was very well qualified for that imployment, and that he would go the better contented, if he might have in Commiſſion with him, ſome of his own friends and acquaintance. His Majeſty anſwered, That it was his part to chuſe his own Ambaſſadours, that the Earl of *Marſhal* ſhould have the firſt place as a Nobleman, but that he would repoſe the chief handling with the Regent, and Council of *Denmark* upon me. Then I declared, That the appointed time was paſt, and that yet there was no appearance of any preparation of Mony or Ship, wherewith His Majeſty was very angry. I named the Laird of *Barnbarrow*, or Mr. *Peter Young*, as very fit to be imployed in the Commiſſion with the Earl of *Marſhal*, becauſe they had been there already. But he would not hear thereof, for the blame had been wrongouſly laid upon their inſufficiency, it being alledged, That their miſmanagement, was the occaſion that matters formerly took not the deſired ſucceſs. Would not this kind of Court dealing, ſcare any man from medling in ſuch weighty matters, where ſuch men are preferred to have the ſpecial credit about a Prince, who mind only their own deſigns, and not the Prince's advantage?

Thoſe who at preſent ordered Affairs, counſelled His Majeſty firſt to ſend to the Queen of *England*, and require her advice and conſent to the ſaid marriage with *Denmark*, who they knew would not only diſſwade him from the ſaid marriage, but alſo ſtay him from any marriage, as ſhe and her Council had ever done, and dealt, both with his Mother and himſelf. When I underſtood of this new delay, I obtained licence to go home to my houſe, and make me ready againſt the next warning. In the mean time, the ſeaſon of the year was well ſpent. The Queen of *England*'s anſwer returned, not to marry with *Denmark*. She ſaid, That ſhe had credit with the King and Princeſs of *Navarre*, that ſhe would imploy the ſame for effectuating that marriage, which was much more His Majeſty's intereſt. In the mean time ſhe did write to the King of *Navarre*, to hold back the marriage of his Siſter three years, for ſuch frivolous pretexts as carried no reaſon. Upon this anſwer of *England*, our Council was Convened, and inticed to Vote againſt the marriage of *Denmark*. Whereat His Majeſty took ſuch a deſpight, that he cauſed one of his moſt familiar Servants to deal ſecretly with ſome of the Deacons of the Craftſmen of *Edinburgh*, to make a mutiny againſt the Chancellour and Council, threat'ning to ſlay him in caſe the marriage with the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter were hindred, or longer delayed. This boaſting and fear cauſed a new reſolution to be taken, that the Earl of *Marſhal* ſhould be diſpatched with diligence, with the Conſtable of *Dundie*, and the Lord *Andrew Kieth*, whom the ſaid Earl requeſted His Majeſty to ſend with him. Which His Majeſty granted the more eaſily, becauſe he found ſo many difficulties in the matter, and ſome of my friends had informed him, that it would be very ſatisfactory to me that ſome other were imployed. Now it was a yet long time, before the Earl of *Marſhal* could be ready, and diſpatched. Then as to his dealing with the Council of *Denmark*, his power to conclude was ſo limited, and his Commiſſion ſo ſlender, that he was compelled to ſend back again my Lord *Dingual*, either for a Licence to come home, or for a ſufficient power to conclude. Where it chanced that he found His Majeſty at *Aberdeen*, and the Chancellour and moſt part of the Council abſent. Which was a great furtherance to get a full power to conclude the Contract and Ceremony of the Marriage, by the Earl of *Marſhal*, who was incontinently diſpatched by the Regent and Council of *Denmark*, and the Queen ſent home with him well accompanied. But the tempeſtuous winds drave them upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, where they landed and ſtayed a long time for fair Winds and Weather. Which ſtorm of Wind was alledged to be raiſed by the Witches of *Denmark*, as by ſundry of them was acknowledged, when they were for that cauſe burnt. That which moved them thereto, was, as they ſaid, a blow which the Admiral of *Denmark* gave to one of the Bayliffs of *Copenhaven*, whoſe Wife conſulting with her Aſſociates in that Art, raiſed the Storm to be revenged upon the ſaid Admiral.

His Majeſty had heard that they were upon the Sea, and left nothing undone to make all in a readineſs to receive the Queen and her Company honourably. But in the mean time, was very impatient, and ſorrowful, for her long delay; laying the blame thereof upon the Chancellour, and ſuch other of his Council as had plainly Voted againſt the ſaid marriage, and thereby had delayed the diſpatch of the Ambaſſadours ſo long, until the Seaſon of Sailing upon the Seas was near paſt. The ſtorms were alſo ſo great here, that a Paſſage-Boat periſhed betwixt *Bruntland* and *Lieth*, wherein was a Gentlewoman called *Jean Kennedie*, who had been long in *England* with the Queen His Majeſty's Mother, and was ſince married to Sir *Andrew Melvil* of *Garvock* my Brother, Maſter of His Majeſties Houſhold. Which Gentlewoman being diſcreet and grave, was ſent for by His Majeſty to be about the Queen his Bed-fellow. She being deſirous to make diligence, would not by the ſtorm be ſtopped the Sailing of the Ferry, where the vehement ſtorm drave a Ship forcibly upon the ſaid Boat and drowned the Gentlewoman, and all the Perſons, except two. This the *Scottiſh* Witches confeſſed to His Majeſty was procured by them. In that Boat alſo, I loſt two Servants.

Now His Majeſty remained quietly in the Caſtle of *Craigmillar*, diſſatisfied, as ſaid is, with the greateſt part of his Council. He could neither ſleep, nor reſt. In the mean time, he directed Colonel *Stuart* to my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, charging us to take care of his miſhandled Eſtate in time-coming, lamenting that he had been abuſed by ſuch as formerly he had too much truſted to, and that he had always found us faithful and careful of his welfare. He therefore deſired us to ſit down, and adviſe how he might beſt put remedy to things by-paſt, and prevent ſuch inconveniencies in time coming, ſeeing he had determined hereafter to repoſe moſt upon our Council. Our anſwer to His Majeſty was, That we had great reaſon to render His Majeſty moſt humble thanks for the favourable opinion he entertained of us, which we ſhould endeavour to deſerve, and were very ſorry for the diſpleaſure His Majeſty had taken, praying His Majeſty to take patience, ſeeing that as he had always repoſed upon God and not Man, that the ſame God would mend his Eſtate, as he had ofttimes done before. That our care ſhould be preſently, how to receive the Queen honourably, who was upon the Sea (we daily looking for her landing) and next how to treat and reward the Noblemen of *Denmark*, Her Majeſties Convoy. That being done, and they returned back to their Country, it would be beſt time to take order with the Affairs of the Kingdom, conform to His Majeſty's deſire, with the concurrence of ſo many of the Council, as His Majeſty had found moſt faithful, and leaſt factious. But we did not think fit to take upon us the whole burthen, in reſpect that hath been always the chief cauſe of the wrack of *Scots* Kings, eſpecially of all His Majeſty's own troubles, in laying the whole burthen of his Affairs upon any one, or two, who moſt commonly for greedineſs and ambition abuſe good Princes, and few or none dare controul them, for fear of their great Authority and Credit.

The Chancellour being advertiſed of His Majeſty's diſcontent, and diſpleaſure, as ſaid is, made preparation to go off the Country, and cauſed it to come to His Majeſty's Ears, that he would Sail himſelf and bring home the Queen with him: And that they were all but Triflers who were with her. He forgot not to anoint the hands of ſome who were moſt familiar with His Majeſty, to interpret this his deſign ſo favourably, that it made the King forget all by-gones, and by little and little he informed him ſo well of the ſaid Voyage, and the great charges he had beſtowed upon a fair and ſwift ſailing Ship, that His Majeſty was moved to take the Voyage himſelf, and to ſail in the ſame Ship with the Chancellour, with great ſecrecy, and ſhort preparation, making no Man privy thereto, but ſuch as the Chancellour pleaſed, and ſuch as formerly had all been upon his Faction. He had alſo heard an incling of a word, That His Majeſty, in the time of his high diſpleaſure, had ſaid, That he would lay the burthen of his Affairs upon my Brother, and me; whereat he had a great envy and deſpight, and was the cauſe why His Majeſty made me not privy to his Voyage. He was very diſcontent, when His Majeſty had appointed my ſaid Brother *Robert* to be left Vice-Chancellour, and Convene the Council in His Majeſty's abſence, to hold hand with the Duke of *Lennox*, my Lord *Hamiltoun*, *Bothwel* and other Noblemen, with the Officers of the Crown, and to Rule the Country in His Majeſty's abſence.

Three other Ships failed with His Majeſty, wherein was the *Juſtice Clerk*, *Carmichal* the Provoſt of *Lincludin*, Sir *William Keith*, *George Hume*, *James Sandiland*, With all His Majeſty's Ordinary Servants. The weather was rough enough, for it was in the beginning of Winter. But the laſt day was ſo extream ſtormy, that they were all in great hazard, but His Majeſty landed that ſame night at   in *Norway*, where the Queen was abiding the turning of the Wind, and where he accompliſhed his marriage in perſon. But he could not be perſwaded to return to *Scotland* that Winter, by reaſon of the raging Seas and ſtorm he had ſuſtained a little before.

The Queen and Council of *Denmark*, being advertiſed that His Majeſty was reſolved to abide all that Winter, ſent and requeſted him to come to *Denmark*. Whither he went by Land with the Queen his new Bride, and behaved himſelf honourably and liberally by the way, and at the Court of *Denmark*, where he tarried during his abode there.

But the Company who were with His Majeſty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, ſtriſe, pride and partialities. The Earl of *Marſhal* by reaſon that he was an ancient Earl, and had been firſt imployed in this honourable Commiſſion, thought to have the firſt place next unto His Majeſty, ſo long as he was there. The Chancellour by reaſon of his Office, would needs have the preheminence. There were alſo contentions betwixt him and the *Juſtice Clark.* The Conſtable of *Dundie* and my Lord *Dingwal* could not agree about place. *George Hume* did quietly ſhoot out *William Kieth* from his Office of Maſter of the Wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two Factions. The one for the Earl of *Marſhal*, the other for the Chancellour, who was the ſtronger, becauſe the King took his part: So that the Chancellour triumphed, and being yet in *Denmark*, deviſed many Reformations to be made, and new Forms and Cuſtoms to be ſet forward at His Majeſty's return: As to have no Privy Council but the Exchequer, and the Nobility to be debarred from it: Sundry of the Lords of the Seſſion to be put out, who he judged had no dependence upon him, and others his Creatures put in their room. He cauſed a Proclamation to be pen'd, which was ſent home to be proclaim'd before His Majeſty's return, That none of the Nobility ſhould come to Court not being ſent for, and then to bring with them ſix perſons and no more: Likewiſe every Baron to bring but four. Likewiſe he reſolved to cauſe Ward ſuch as had been unruly, and diſobedient during His Majeſty's abſence, as the Earl *Bothwel*, the Lord *Hume*, and divers Borderers and Highland Men.

The next Spring His Majeſty came home, and Landed at *Lieth*, well accompanied with the Admiral of *Denmark*, and divers of the Council and many other Gentlemen. All whom his Majeſty treated honourably, and after the Queens Coronation they were magnificently rewarded with more than twelve Golden Chains, and many Medals of Gold with His Majeſties Picture.

His Majeſty at his landing was pleaſed to ſend to me to bear them company, which I did until their parting, to His Majeſties great contentment.

In the mean time, the Earl of *Worceſter* was ſent Ambaſſadour from *England*, to Welcome and Congratulate both their Majeſties, with ſome Preſents unto the Queens Majeſty. Upon whom I was commanded by His Majeſty to attend diligently all the time of his being here, and at his parting he was preſented with a Ring of ſeven great Diamonds. He parted well ſatisfied, and ſo did all his Company.

His Majeſty was pleaſed at leaſure to declare unto me his whole Voyage, and proceedings during his abſence. He ſaid that he wiſhed that I had been ſent alone Ambaſſadour to *Denmark*, in place of the Earl of *Marſhal*, and the two who were joined with him, he was ſo ill informed of the ſaid Earl. I anſwered, That I underſtood that the Earl for his part had behaved himſelf very honourably, and diſcreetly, as the Admiral of *Denmark*, and divers of the company had informed me. But His Majeſty had been ſo poſſeſſed with the Chancellour's miſinformation, that for the time he believed it. He ſaid further to me, That he had greater trouble to keep good order among the few company that was in *Denmark*, than my Brother Sir *Robert* had to keep quiet all *Scotland*, during his abſence. Which praiſe my Brother indeed deſerved, for he had ſuch favour and credit among the Nobility, Barons, and Burroughs, that they followed his advice; believing that he would not ſay but the truth in His Majeſty's Name, and that he would give no mis-information againſt them at his home-coming. But the Chancellour envied my Brother for the great opinion His Majeſty had of him, though he had been the greateſt inſtrument of bringing the Chancellour into Court with His Majeſty firſt, when His Majeſtv paſt to his Liberty at St. *Andrews*; and afterwards of getting him the keeping of the great Seal, and in effect of making him Chancellour ſince. The Chancellour remembred alſo of his Majeſty's deliberation before his going to *Denmark*; and the direction he had ſent by Collonel *Stuart* to my Brother and me. Which the Chancellour now went about to prevent, by taking occaſion to Calumniate my Brother in his abſence, becauſe he was not preſent in the time, when there was to do with his Office to furniſh ſome little neceſſaries to the ſtrangers. He having been ſent for to viſit his Wife lying at the point of Death in *Bruntland*. The Chancellour told His Majeſty, that during his Majeſty's abſence he uſed every *Saturday* ſo to do, tarrying three or four days, neglecting the common Affairs of the Countrey. And that it was the Clerk-Regiſter, *Alexander Hay*, who had done all the good Offices, which were alledged to have been done by Sir *Robert*. Whereby he kindled up ſo the King's anger againſt him, that he threat'ned to Ward him, and take his Office from him, ſix days after he was ſo much praiſed for the great and faithful Service he had done. So ill handled oft-times are good Princes, and faithful Servants, by crafty Calumnies. But his Majeſty being thereafter fully informed of the matter ſoon repented his anger; and converted the ſame againſt the ſaid Chancellour upon another occaſion.

There was Emulation betwixt the Council and the Chancellour. The Council complaining, That the Chancellour was the deviſer of all the wrongs that were done; by cauſing His Majeſty to ſubſcribe ſundry hurtful Signatures, and Commiſſions, getting them paſt for himſelf and his friends, taking thus the beſt and moſt profitable Caſualities to himſelf, and his dependers.

The Chancellour again endeavoured, to have the moſt part of the Council at his devotion, or ſuch who would not be in all things ruled by him changed, and others placed in their room, who would have more dependance upon him. Whereupon the Council conſulted, and concluded together, to caſt the Chancellour. Yet one of the Council, who had a matter of great moment to be diſpatched, to curry favour with the Chancellour, diſcovers the deſign to him, who having that knowledge thereof before-hand, had the opportunity of preventing the enterpriſe, as to the effect deſigned. Yet at his firſt coming to ſpeak with His Majeſty, he rebuked him very ſorely. And leaving him, he took me by the hand, ſaying, I am the worſt handled Prince in the World; as I ſhall ſhew you To-morrow; for now when I go to Bed, I deſire not to enter upon ſo Melancholly Subjects ſo late. Therefore ſend for your Brother, and at his coming, I ſhall declare unto you both, more of my mind. I cannot forget an expreſſion of yours, That it is the greateſt Art in the World to be true.

At my Brother's coming, we found that the only cauſe was, That the Chancellour, and ſome with him, would have ruined thoſe who were His Majeſty's trueſt friends. Yet my Brother, finding it His Majeſty's intereſt, took up the matter betwixt the Council and the Chancellour, to His Majeſty's great contentment.

After the Coronation of the Queens Majeſty, and Banquetting, and rewarding the ſtrangers, and that they returned home well contented: There was another Convention appointed, for taking order with the Affairs of the Country. To the which, many Noblemen, and Barons were written for; but very few obeyed the ſaid Letters, or would come near the Court. Becauſe when they were firſt written for to the Queens Coronation, they judged themſelves ſlighted: For Hall, Chamber, and all doors were ſo ſtraitly ſhut, and undiſcreetly kept, that they could get no entry. Therefore many of them returned diſcontent to their houſes, for there was no man appointed to welcome them, or to direct them, except ſo many as were made Knights. Which was the cauſe that ſo few came again to Court, the next time, when they were written for. Thoſe who had been lately in *Denmark* with His Majeſty, thought to retain him and the whole Government in their hands, and had given His Majeſty counſel not to be over familiar, nor of too eaſie acceſs. That none ſhould be permitted to enter his Chamber, but ſuch as were Gentlemen of his Chamber, with the Chancellour, and ſome of the Council. They were not content to have the whole acceſs, and only handling at all other times, but even alſo at the Conventions, they continually occupied His Majeſty's Ear in preſence of the whole Aſſembly, thereby to let their great credit be ſeen, that they might be courted, by ſuch as had to do with the King. None of them all had more occaſion of occupying His Majeſty's Ear, then I had at that time. Yet when it would pleaſe him to call upon me, to know how every ſtranger was treated, and ſatisfied, and to be informed about other things: I would give him a ſhort anſwer, and inſtantly retire. Which was perceived by many of the Nobility, and Barons, who were come to the Convention. In the which ſundry neceſſary Reformations were intended, though nothing was performed: Which was the more complained of, becauſe every man was in expectation to ſee a ſettled Eſtate at His Majeſty's home-coming, by reaſon of His Majeſty's promiſe made publickly in the high Kirk of *Edinbrugh*, to be a new Man, and to take up another kind of care and doing in his own perſon, than ever had been ſeen, or uſed before. Which certainly His Majeſty was very willing to have put in execution, but alaſs he lacked help and aſſiſtance. For ſuch as he repoſed moſt upon, had no further care of his affirs, then as they found could beſt ſerve their own particular profit, and advancement to ſuch ambitious aims as they ſhot at: making His Majeſty in the mean time believe, that all was well ruled and ordered. The contrary being too manifeſt, moved me to preſent unto His Majeſty ſome Memorials, and Informations concerning his Eſtate and Government. The moſt part whereof I had ſet down in writing, after that Colonel *Stuart* had brought Commiſſion from His Majeſty to my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, before His Majeſty's

Voyage to bring home the Queen, during the time that he was in great vexation in *Craigmillar*, and diſcontent with the Chancellour, and ſuch as were his dependers in the Council, who had been hinderers of his marriage. For at that time, he had deſired my ſaid Brother, and me, to ſit down, and adviſe upon ſome good Rules, for the eſtabliſhing of ſome good order in his Country, the Coppy whereof was as followeth.

SIR, your Majeſty's happy return hath greatly rejoyced your whole Subjects. The expectation they have had of you ever ſince your Birth, hath been great, both far and near. Your publick promiſe to take upon you a more Kingly care ſince your home-coming through greater experience, hath augmented a good hope of a gracious Government. Your Religion pure and clean, your zeal to Godlineſs and Juſtice, your chaſt and ſincere Life: your promptitude to ſuppreſs Rebellions when they ariſe, raviſheth the hearts of moſt part of your Subjects to love you, and eſteem you the beſt King that hath been theſe many years in this Realm. And yet they all marvel with ſtupified minds, to ſee your affairs ſo unluckily handled, complaining that your Country was never in greater diſorder, the Kirk never worſe contented, their diſſatisfaction influencing the whole Kingdom; Your houſe ſo evil at a point: The Nobility ſo divided; The Barons were never in greater poverty: The Commons never more Oppreſſed; Never more Taxations raiſed, moſtly applyed to the utility of private perſons: Never more Parliaments holden: Never more Laws broken; your Proclamations and Miſſives no ways obeyed; Never was Murther and Blood ſhed more increaſed, then ſince your home-coming, and publick promiſe of better Government.

Therefore, Sir, as in a perillous ſtorm upon the Sea, or to quench ſudden kindled fire on the Land, every mans help is requiſite, and acceptable, ſo I hope your Majeſty's clemency will conſider, and your prudence will take in good part, this my dutiful Declaration and Admonition, the boldlier interpriſed under the Warrant of your favourable Alliance, following your Commandment before your Majeſty's going to *Denmark*, that my Brother and I ſhould ſet down the Cauſes of the evil and diſorders that have been, and yet are in the Kingdom, with the meeteſt Remedies for Reforming and Amending the ſame.

There be Three chief Cauſes of all theſe Evils and Diſorders.

The *Firſt* is concerning God's Service.

The *Second* is concerning your own Eſtate, and the Proviſion of your Houſe.

The *Third*, Concerning the policy and right management of the Country.

As concerning the ſervice of God neglected by our ſins, and careleſneſs in ſetting forth his Glory, it ſhould be redreſſed and amended by humble Repentance, and amendment of Life, and good Example firſt in your own Perſon, upon whoſe carriage, every Man's Eye is fixed, as the Head to Rule the reſt of the Members, with Religion, Juſtice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude.

Chiefly by Religion and Juſtice, have all Common-wealths been Ruled. So that ſuch Countries as wanted the knowledg of the True Religion, ſeeing the great works that God brought to paſs by his own peculiar people obſerving his Religion, they invented Religions. Thus thinking to imitate the *Jews*, they fell into Idolatry, and Superſtition: yet they ſtraitly obſerved their ſaid invented Religions, and cauſed to puniſh with Death ſuch as deſpiſed or ſpoke againſt the ſame. Far more ſhould your Majeſty be careful to advance the True Religion, and to ſee the ſame Reverenced and Obſerved. And for that effect, ſhould devout and diſcreet Miniſters be choſen, whoſe Chriſtian Lives may Preach, as well as their Doctrine. Aud ſuch ought to be provided with ſufficient local ſtipends, neither too much to entice them to Avarice, nor too little to make them Indigent, and give them ground in their Preachings to cry out of Poverty, in ſuch ſort as they may have no occaſion yearly to leave their flocks, to come and make ſuite for their living, with great pain and expences as they do preſently.

Divers are the cauſes of the diſorders in your Court, and Houſe-Officers, and Servants. For they are not choſen for their Qualities, but at the inſtance of this and that Friend, or Courtier. Then the number of all ſorts of Servants are not limitted, by placing about your Majeſty ſo many as are needful, but an extraordinary number, whereas two in every Office are enough. And then your prudence will be beſt known, when you ſhall be ſeen to make good Elections of fit Perſons for every occupation. For the Prince is ever eſteemed to be like unto thoſe ſort of ſervants, he likes beſt to be about him. Much conſiſts in this, to have in Court, diſcreet, modeſt Courtiers, ſuch as are not Covetous, nor unmeaſurable Ambitious. Nothing wins more the hearts of the People to the Prince: for ſo long as they ſee about him ſuch Perſons, they are out of fear of being unmeaſurably burthened: When they ſee men, who are not greedy, nor prodigal ſpenders of the Princes Eſtate, nor their own, nor ſtirrers up of the Prince, to take Men's Lives for their Lands; they are in hope that every Man may live upon his own, and the Prince alſo upon his proper Patrimony. Therefore ſhould the Officers of the *Exchequer*, be true and honeſt Men. And the Prince ſhould be frequently preſent himſelf, and hear his own compts: for few dare controul, or find fault with the wrong compts of his Officers, or great Courtiers. Which I have oft-times found fault with, when upon the *Exchequer*, though afterward to my great Prejudice.

The cauſes why the Patrimony of the Crown is ſo diminiſhed, is because your Majeſty diſpoſed much to the Church, for Devotion; and to the Noblemen, and Barons, for good Service. And when Princes were careleſs to prevent Rebellions, occaſioned by their miſ-government, they were compelled to buy the Aſſiſtance of ſome, by diſpoſition of Lands, to help to ſuppreſs their unnatural Subjects. Which inconvenience, their careful and provident Government, might have prevented and eſchewed.

Your Majeſty alſo out of your Noble and Princely diſpoſition, diſpoſed liberally unto divers greedy and importunate Perſons, during your minority, divers Lands, and Rents, which would have ſtood in great ſtead, to the entertainment of your Houſe. And you heaped gift upon gift to a ſort of greedy cravers, and that by the perſwaſions of ſuch as had your Ear, and not to thoſe who deſerved beſt at your hands. Now the Officers of the *Checquer* being well choſen, as ſaid is, the Rent-Maſters, and their Officers, who are accomptable, muſt be reſponſible Men; neither too mean, nor too great Men, or Courtiers; but ſuch as dare be controuled, and whom People will not fear to offend. All vacant Benefices, and Caſualities, ſhould be retained in your own hands, till you ſee what you may ſpare.

Then the beſt part of the property lies in the *High-Lands*, where neither God, nor the King is ſerved or obeyed. Your Rents may be redoubled, if the High-lands, and the Iſlands were reduced, as was done by your King *James* the Fifth: For the Kings of *Scotland* were never rich, ſince they left the High-lands and the Iſles, to dwell in the Low-lands: For ſince that their Rents have been diminiſhed, and their ſuperfluous expences increaſed, at the unruly example of other neighbour Nations.

Then your Majeſties Parks would be put to profit, and repleniſhed, which will be found a neceſſary help to the keeping of your Houſe. The reſt of your ſtore Grounds, lying in the far South parts, are in ſuch hands, as it is not fit meddle with them yet; but ſome yearly number of Weathers will be eaſily granted by them who poſſeſs preſently the ſaid ſtore grounds.

Alſo the forbidden Goods that go yearly out of *Scotland*, if they were ſtayed and taken according to Acts of Parliament, would be very profitable.

The beſt means to bring theſe good purpoſes to paſs, is a Princely, Prudent and Gracious Government: Which is eaſieſt brought to paſs, when the Prince corrects himſelf, before he correct his Subjects: For they will be ſoon ſubdued to his Will, when they ſee the ſame made Subject unto Reaſon: For being Subject unto Reaſon, the Prince hath conquered himſelf, the readieſt means to conquer the hearts of all his Subjects. Their hearts being conquered, the Country is eaſily conquered. The Country being conquered, the Prince may plant and Eſtabliſh good order there at his pleaſure.

Theopompus being demanded, what way a King might beſt rule his Realm: Anſwered, In giving liberty to thoſe who love to tell him the truth.

The Senate of *Rome* writing unto *Trajan*, excuſeth Princes to be negligent in many things, not ſo much for that they have not deſire to foreſee, as becauſe few or none dare warn them of the truth; and ſays moreover, That it belongs to good Princes rather to have regard to the benefit of their Country, then to the delights of their Perſon, and rather to follow ſuch Exerciſes as will increaſe their Reputation, then only to be taken up with their paſtime, that they ſhould be ſparing in Speeches, and Prodigal in Deeds.

Plutarch ſaith to the ſame *Trajan*, If thy Government anſwer not the expectation of thy people, thou muſt neceſſarily be ſubject to many dangers. He ſaid further, That Princes ſhould Rule well, if they be thankful to the great God, and if they ſhould be patient in chances of fortune, and diligent in Execution, careful of their Affairs in dangers, mild to the people, tractable to ſtrangers, not covetous of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions, and deſires. For then the burthen of their Office, will be eaſy unto them. As God is the Ruler and Spirit of the World, ſo ought Princes to Rule and be the Spirit of their Country. The Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and all the Elements, obey God's Ordinance by the ſtrength of his continual Motion and Providence; ſo ſhould the Prince who is God's place-holder, by continual Care, Providence, and Motion, cauſe every Lieutenant, Miniſter, Magiſtrate, Judge, Officer, and Sheriffs to keep their due courſe in their Vocation. For the which effect, it may pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider the nature, and wrong kind of *Scottiſh* Government, by a continual long corrupted Cuſtom.

Scotland is indeed Hereditary, and a Monarchy, yet among all other Monarchical Kingdoms, it is ofteſt out of Tune, by the ſloth and careleſneſs of Princes, the unrulineſs and ſturdineſs of the Subjects, and the great number of the Nobility; as alſo by reaſon of the great cumberſom Clanns, ſo ready to concur together, and to Rebell for the defence of any of their name, or to revenge the juſt Execution of ſome of them for Murther, Slaughter, Theft, or ſuch other Crimes. For our King wanting hired Soldiers remaining in Gariſons, as other Monarchs have, may not at all occaſions puniſh and redreſs ſuch wrongs, and diſorders; except they have by Wiſdom and Vertue conquered their own paſſion, opinions, and deſires, and by the ſame means raviſhed the hearts of the moſt and beſt part of the Subjects, to aſſiſt them with heart and hand to ſuppreſs the Rebels, and to puniſh the offenders. Such Kings again as endeavour to command abſolutely, not caring for the hearts of their Subjects; their Proclamation may well be outwardly obeyed with their Bodies, but they will never help the Prince in time of need, ſave only to help to ruine him. There is nothing more dangerous for a *Scots* King, that hath not the love of his Subjects, then when a great nnmber are Convened together. For at ſuch times, they uſe to take ſudden conſultations to put order to the Prince, and his familiar Minions. Of theſe two ſort of Kings, the firſt, is more then a Monarch, and the leſs then Elective. Of the firſt, in *Scotland* too few have Reign'd, and of the laſt too many. Which is the cauſe, that the Country is not conquered to the lawful Kings. Which is alſo the cauſe, that the corrupt Cuſtoms and Diſorders, have laſted ſo long, and are not to be remedied, untill it pleaſe God to ſend three ſuch Kings as I have named of the beſt ſort, granting them long life, each one to ſucceed after other. I pray God grant that your Majeſty be the firſt of the three. But it appears your Majeſty is not well adviſed, while you are creating more Noblemen, making them thereby the ſtronger, whereas divers other Princes endeavoured to make them lower and fewer: By reaſon of the old Emulation which hath laſted between the Kings of *Scotland*, and their Nobility, the Kings to Command abſolutely as Sovereign Monarchs; the Nobles to withſtand their abſolute power, ſometime by ſecret and indirect means, and ofttimes by plain reſiſtance and force. Hence but few Wiſe, Vertuous, and Potent Kings, or Soveraign Monarchs who have obtained the Maſtery; whereas there have been many careleſs, ſlothful, and ſimple Princes, that have Ruled by wicked Councellors, and have commonly been brought to ignominious ends. The good and worthy Prince, took upon him more or leſs abſolute Power and Authority, as he found himſelf able by Aſſiſtance, Subſtance, and Alliance, or as he found his Nobility feeble, fooliſh, and divided.

England believes it ſelf to be in the better Eſtate by ſhedding the blood of their Nobility, and debarring them from the Council, and handling of the Princes Affairs; *Scotland* contrariwiſe, by ſparing the blood of the Nobility, and Barons, and by making them partakers of Honours, and Offices. For the way of taking the life of a Nobleman or Baron, breeds an hundred Enemies more or leſs, according to the greatneſs of the Clan, or Surname. Of which ſome will lye at wait to be revenged, albeit long after, as they can find their opportunity. For the Nobility being ſo numerous by long evil cuſtom, they eſteem themſelves to be born Councellors. And yet will not remain at Court, nor upon the Council, unleſs it be at Conventions, or for ſome particular profit. And if the Prince intend to Rule without them, they uſe to make ſudden enterpriſes againſt him, and his familiars, with the which Tragedies, the Chronicles are filled. Then after ſuch a violent alteration, they find themſelves odious to the Prince, ſo that they commonly ſeek to be Maſters over him from that time forth, leſt he ſhould when he ſees a fit time take his revenge for their contempt.

It is not beſt then to debar your Nobility from being upon your Council, but grant place to a number of the wiſeſt of them, whereof they will ſoon be weary, and retire when their Purſes begin to grow empty. Thus they will want occaſion to grudge or rebel.

It is meet alſo to gain by good deeds, part of the worthieſt of your Nobility, which may be a means to keep the reſt from Rebellion, when they ſee ſo many of their number daily about you, and in your favour.

Princes are by *Homer* called *Paſtors*, by the *Romans*, *Fathers of the Country*. None can be anſwerable to ſuch honourable Names, without extream diligence, and fatherly care, to ſee every Officer about his duty, and ſtreight accompt taken how they diſcharge the ſame, rewarding Well-doers, and puniſhing Offenders; reward and puniſhment being the Pillars, whereupon the Common-wealth ſtands. Eſpecially take care, the firſt year of your marriage, for the reputation obtained the firſt year will laſt long afterward, whether it be good or evil.

Be earneſt and liberal to get good intelligence, as well of your neighbours Eſtate, as your own. Of the grievances of your Subjects, and their partialities, and feuds; which will open your Eyes to ſee ſundry out-gates in matters of State.

Give familiar acceſs to your Nobility and Barons, when they come: Chiefly to all ſuch, who are written for to your Conventions. Give open Audience once every Week at leaſt, to Rich and Poor, receiving their Supplications, and Complaints, with ſtrict Command to the Council, and Maſter of Requeſts, to give them anſwer with ſudden diſpatch.

Cauſe to reform the ſuperfluity of Clothing and Banqueting, as well by your Example as Commandment.

Now ſuppoſing your Majeſty to be ripe fruit, and no more green, I hope your dear bought experience hath made you apt enough to receive all profitable impreſſions, preſented to your Majeſty by your faithful proved Servants, and not to commit ſo eaſily the weighty charge of your Affairs to any one, or two, or three, ſeeing the ſame may have been clearly obſerved, to tend highly to the prejudice of ſuch, who have been, through flattery, or otherwiſe, induced to follow ſuch courſes. Such Minions have been always obſerved to ſhoot at their own marks, not valuing the endangering the Eſtate of the Prince, ſo that they gain their own ends, by enriching themſelves, and their dependers.

No man will think ſtrange that, during your younger years, you have been preſſed and perſwaded to lay the burthen of Affairs of your ſelf upon others, who greedily courted that weighty charge above their capacity, wanting care, knowledg, and ability to bear it. But now every Man will marvell, if you ſhould commit ſuch a groſs Error in your perfect age, thinking that your pregnant ingeny, excellent memory, and hurtful experience, may compel you to exerciſe the Office of a King in your own Perſon. For whence hath proceeded ſo many attempts, ſo many enterpriſes, ſo many times the taking of your Majeſties Perſon, ſo many alterations and changes of Court-Servants, Councellors, and Laws; but by committing the charge and keeping of your Sheep, and Subjects, to certain ambitious and ravenous Wolfs, who chooſe to bring into Court for their aſſiſtance, ſuch as they knew to be of their own qualities, that they might conquer together, firſt how to put out of your favour, and debar from your Ear, all ſuch honeſt true Perſons, as would oppoſe their pernicious proceedings, that ſo your Majeſty might neither ſee nor underſtand, but by their Eyes and Ears. Your Majeſty can well enough remember, how oft for my part I have forewarned you of the ſtorms which were to fall out, through the misbehaviour of ſuch inſolent, ſuch inconſtant, ſuch ſcornful, and ſuch partial Perſons, as have ofteſt poſſeſt your Ear, and carried the vogue in your Court. And what I thereby gained to my ſelf, your Majeſty knows. Yet however diſadvantagious to my own particular intereſt, was that manner of procedure, I had this Comfort, that your Majeſty confeſſed that I had ſhewn you the verity, but the ſaid confeſſion was ay behind the time, with over late Repentance.

Here your Majeſty may reproach me of inconſtant Councils; becauſe one year after your returning from *Denmark*, I told you that your Subjects were not ſatisfied of their expectations, nor of your publick promiſes, praying your Majeſty yet to begin, and either be at that pains which is requiſite to a right Governing King, or elſe to ſubmit the whole burthen of your affairs to ſuch a number as I ſhould name, only for one year. In doing of any of theſe two, I engaged that you ſhould find your Eſtate ſufficiently ſetled at the years end. Then it pleaſed your Majeſty to demand of me the manner that I would wiſh you to Rule after. Whereunto I made anſwer, that it did not become me, or any in *Scotland* to ſhew you the duty of a King, which you could declare better then any of your Council, ſeeing you could exerciſe the ſaid Office as well as any King in *Europe*, if you were pleaſed only for one year to take the pains to do it your ſelf. In ſo doing, I ſuppoſed that before the end of it, there ſhould enſue ſuch profitable effects, as you ſhould find the Government pleaſant, and no more painful, by the which means your Majeſty ſhould eſchew the reproach of the Poet, in one of his ſayings in *French*.

Je hay; dit il entre les hom̃es ceux
Qui ſont eſpris dun vouloir panſheux
Et tonſiours ſemblet ſon ſy ſye
Practiquer lart de la Philoſophie.

Italian.

Chi non ſa quel che deue, quel haſpetta non receue.

Spaniſh.

Si fueras regido par razon amuchos regiras.

In four things a Prince ſooneſt wracks himſelf, to be careleſs and ſlothful in his Affairs, to forſake the Counſel of his true Servants, to give ear unto unthankful flatterers, and to ſpend above his Rents.

To return again to the purpoſe, it pleaſed your Majeſty to require for the ſecond part, *viz.* What might beſt ſettle your Eſtate within the year? I ſaid, to devolve the management for a year upon ſuch as I ſhould name, joyned to the beſt inclined of your own Council. To that your Majeſty once agreed, but when I came more to particulars, your Majeſty judged it not your intereſt, as having been otherwiſe adviſed. Then I requeſted your Majeſty to exerciſe the Office your ſelf.

Yet not long after, your Majeſty ſubmitted your ſelf wholly and intirely to eight Perſons, called *Octavians*, and told me that you had followed my Opinion therein, and had ſubmitted *ſimpliciter* for your time to theſe eight Perſons. I replied, that I ſpoke but for one year, and that I would have named ſome of the ſaid number but not all. They were Wiſe Men, Learned and Politick; but the unmeeter that they were chuſers of themſelves. Yet they began to do better than any had done before them, but they continued not, but divided among themſelves, after they had divided the Offices of the Crown to every man one: Whereas at the firſt, they had given forth that they ſhould plant mean reſponſible men in the ſaid Offices, and they all too but Controulers of the ſaid Officers. So that many began to grudge againſt them, ſeeing them become in a ſudden rich. And perceiving their great backs, the whole Subjects, and His Majeſty's own Domeſticks to follow and depend upon them, and His Majeſty to paſs through the Streets with three or four as forſaken; becauſe none hoped any more for reward at his hands, but ſo much as might be had for ſerving and depending upon the ſaid Eight Lords. They became alſo hated and envied, partly for the Cauſes ſpecified; as alſo there was great ground of jealouſie, that they were intending the eſtabliſhment of Popery. So that there was a Rebellion raiſed in *Edinburgh* againſt them, in his Majeſty's preſence; upon which they fled out of the Town, and ſince durſt never take upon them the whole Government, but were content to be joyned with a number of Noblemen, and others of the Council, to the number of twenty four. But the greateſt part of the Noblemen did not attend, but came when they were written for to the Conventions, as formerly they uſed. So all this new device turned to the old *ſicut antea.*

You have heard how that his Majeſty was adviſed at his returning from *Denmark*, to impriſon ſuch as were given up to have been moſt unruly during his abſence. But being returned, even ſome of thoſe who had adviſed the ſaid Warding, were the firſt who gave advertiſement to thoſe who were to be Warded, not without ſome profit for their reward, to the great diſcontentment of ſome of their Aſſociates. Which looſed the bond which was made at *Denmark* by the *Chancellour* and his Faction, and cauſed every one of that number to go ſundry, and to do for themſelves So that all their Plots and deviſes turned to change ſome of the Seſſion, but there was no concurrence, and ſo it ſtopped of it ſelf.

The Officers of the *Exchequer* continued a while to be the only Council. And the Nobility when they came, were kept at the door, I having at that time the honour to be one of the *Exchequer*, took the freedom to acquaint His Majeſty that the Nobility would be offended at ſuch uſage, which was ſo manifeſt a ſlight. I ſaid it would do no prejudice to cauſe them come in, they being great men, as my L. *Hamiltoun*, my L. *Maxwel*, and others of principal note. But His Majeſty of his own nature was not changeable from the order laid down by them he liked, and repoſed upon. Yet of my own accord I went forth of the Chamber, and told the Noblemen, That His Majeſty was upon the ordering of his Accompts and Rents, and the daily Expences of his Houſe; that he was aſham'd they ſhould ſee the Eſtate thereof, which was the cauſe they were ſuffered to ſtand without. This little excuſe was ſomwhat ſatisfactory to them. But that Order was alſo ſoon altered.

Concerning the reducing of the Highlands and Iſles, three of the Principals, as *Maclean*, *Macdonel* and *Donald Gorin*, were ſubtilly drawn to the Court by the *Chancellour*, who underſtood of the differences among them. Every one of them being by him put in hope to get his hand above his Enemy. But at their coming, they were all three Warded in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to their great aſtoniſhment. For they had each of them committed ſuch foul murthers under truſt, that it was horrible to rehearſe. Being therefore apprehenſive of their Lives, they dealt largely of their ill won Gold to thoſe who had moſt Credit, nevertheleſs to terrifie them the more, to draw more from them, they were put to an Aſſize, and Convict of Treaſon. Which cauſed them to redouble their gifts to the Guiders, but not to the King. In ſuch ſort that there was an agreement betwixt His Majeſty and them, that they ſhould give pledges that they ſhould pay yearly unto His Majeſty twenty thouſand marks for the Lands, of the property whereof they had no ſecurity. Of the which they had of yearly Rent, as was given into the Exchequer, two hundred and fifty thouſand Marks. This was all given them for twenty thouſand Marks. And whereas before they had no right, nor ſecurity, but a forcible poſſeſſion, they obtained ſure infeofments by Charter, Seiſin, and the Great Seal, and a remiſſion of their foul Crimes. But ſhortly after their Pledges, who were kept in the *Blackneſs* for giving a ſmall Sum, were releaſed, and ſo the twenty thouſand Marks was loſt and never payed.

Here was a good Prince ill uſed, and abuſed; and the half of the Rents robbed from him; his God offended by ſparing to do juſtice upon ſuch bloody Tyrants, who acknowledged neither God nor the King.

I had adviſed his Majeſty to go himſelf to the *Iſles* to build a Fort there, and to remain two years till all things were order'd; ſhewing His Majeſty that the Kings of *Scotland* were never rich, ſince they left the High-lands to dwell in the Low-lands; but have ever ſince diminiſhed their Rents, and increaſed their ſuperfluous expences in Dyet and Clothing, following the Cuſtoms of other Nations: Which His Majeſty, after inquiry, found to be moſt true, and His Majeſty was reſolved to follow the ſaid advice, and I had promiſed to go with him, but all was altered by the former miſrule. Matters thus carried on, many began to loſe hope of amendment, or to ſee the Reformation promiſed and expected, lamenting to ſee a good King ſo ill Councelled.

Yet this time His Majeſty ſent for me, and at my coming to *Falkland*, where the Court remained for the Summer Seaſon; it pleaſed His Majeſty to tell me, how that at his coming out of *Denmark*, he had promiſed to the Queen and Council there, to place about the Queens Majeſty, his Bed-fellow, good and diſcreet Company, which he had left too long undone. That at length having adviſed with himſelf, he thought me the fitteſt man to commit that charge to, deſiring me not to refuſe the juſt calling of my Prince, wherein I might ſerve as in a lawful Vocation; becauſe ſuch as ordinarily ſuit for Service at Court, or for any Office, do it for their own profit; but they are more profitable for Princes that are ſought after, and are choſen for their qualities. I know, ſays he, That you would gladly live at home in your own houſe, with contentment of mind, which you think is not to be had in the troubleſome alterations in Court. But you know that a man is not born for himſelf only, but alſo for the weal of his Prince and Country. And whereas your continual on waiting, will be chargeable and expenſive to you, and hinderſome to your own Affairs at home, I ſhall ordain ſufficient entertainment for your preſent relief, and recompence for this and your former faithful Service.

I anſwered, That as His Majeſty's moſt humble Servant and Subject, I never refuſed to obey his Commandment, however prejudicial to my own intereſt the ſame ſhould have appeared to me, and contrary to my natural inclinations: That I ſhould reſolve in that His Majeſty's deſire, to ſatisfie his expectations. Then it pleaſed him to tell me, That none of his Councll or Chamber were privy to this his deſign of giving me that charge, but only one man, and that the Queen notwithſtanding had got notice thereof, and ſuppoſed that I was to be put there, to inform her rightly of the Eſtate of the Country, and concerning her behaviour to His Majeſty, and to every Nobleman and Lady, conform to their Ranks and Conditions, and to be her keeper.

His Majeſty the next day took occaſion openly at the Table, to ſhew unto the Queen how that ſhe and all her Nation were obliged to me, for the continual good report I had made of them, and the good will I carried toward the whole Nation; and alſo how I had travelled many Countries, and had ſo great experience that both he and ſhe might learn of me ſeveral things for their advantage, and for the well and ſtanding of their Eſtate: And that the Queen his Mother found her ſelf much relieved by my Converſation, and Service of importance, as well here at home, as when I was imployed by her abroad. Thus far his Majeſty ſaid above my deſervings, to recommend me to her Majeſty, to oblige her to like me the better. Notwithſtanding whereof, the Queen did ſhew me no great countenance, but took coldly with me, when after Dinner it pleaſed his Majeſty to preſent me unto her, to be her Highneſs's Councellour, and Gentleman of her Chamber. Some days afterward her Majeſty asked me, if I was ſet to be her Keeper? I anſwered, That her Majeſty was known to be deſcended of ſo Noble and Princely Parents, and ſo well brought up, that ſhe needed no Keeper; albeit her dignity required to be honourably ſerved with Men and Women, both young and old, in ſundry occupations. She replied that I had been ill uſed, ſhewing me that at the firſt, when ſhe was yet ignorant of every mans qualities, ſome indiſcreet enviers endeavoured to give her a bad Character of me. I anſwered, That I was put in her ſervice to inſtruct ſuch indiſcreet perſons, and alſo to give them good example, how to behave themſelves dutifully, and reverently unto her Majeſty, to hold them aback, and that way to keep her from their raſhneſs, and importunity. At length her Majeſty appeared to be well ſatisfied with my Service, in which I ſpent years, keeping ſometimes the Council days, and ſometime waiting upon the Exchequer, when their Majeſties were together; but when they were aſunder, I waited only upon the Queen.

About this time, many Witches were taken in *Lauthian*, who depoſed concerning ſome deſign of the Earl of *Bothwel's* againſt his Majeſty's Perſon. Which coming to the ſaid Earl's Ears, he entred in Ward within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, deſiring to be tried: Alledging that the Devil, who was a lyar from the beginning, ought not to be credited, nor yet the Witches his ſworn Servants. Eſpecially a renowned Midwife called *Amy Simpſon* affirmed, That ſhe in company with nine other Witches, being Convened in the night beſide *Preſtoun Pans*, the Devil their Maſter being preſent, ſtanding in the midſt of them, a Body of Wax ſhapen and made by the ſaid *Amy Simpſon*, wrapped within a Linnen Cloth, was firſt delivered to the Devil, who after he had pronounced his Verdict, delivered the ſaid Picture to *Amy Simpſon*, and ſhe to her next Neighbour, and ſo every one round about, ſaying, This is King *James* the Sixth, ordered to be conſumed at the inſtance of a Nobleman *Francis* Earl *Bothwel*. Afterward again at their meeting by night in the Kirk of *North-Berwick*, where the Devil clad in a Black Gown, with a Black Hat upon his Head, preached unto a great number of them out of the Pulpit, having like light Candles round about him.

The effect of his language was to know what hurt they had done, how many they had gained to their Opinion ſince the laſt meeting; what ſucceſs the melting of the Picture had, and ſuch other vain things. And becauſe an old ſilly poor Plough-man, called *Gray Meilt* chanced to ſay, That nothing ailed the King yet, God be thanked, the Devil gave him a great blow. Thus divers among them entred in reaſoning, marvelling that all their Devilry could do no harm to the King, as it had done to divers others. The Devil anſwered, *Il eſt un home de dieu, Certainly he is a man of God*, and does no wrong wittingly; but he is inclined to all Godlineſs, Juſtice and Vertue, therefore God hath preſerved him in the midſt of many dangers. Now after that the Devil had ended his admonitions, he came down out of the Pulpit, and cauſed all the company come kiſs his Arſe: Which they ſaid was cold like Ice, his body hard like Iron, as they thought who handled him; his Face was terrible, his Noſe like the Beek of an Eagle, great burning Eyes, his Hands, and his Legs were hoary, with Claws upon his Hands and Feet like the *Gryphon*, he ſpoke with a low Voice.

The Tricks and Tragedies he played then among ſo many men and women in this Country, will hardly get credit by poſterity. The Hiſtory whereof with their whole Depoſitions, was written by Mr. *James Carmichael* Miniſter of *Hadingtoun.* Among other things, ſome of them did ſhew that there was a Weſt-land man called *Richard Graham*, who had a familiar Spirit, the which *Richard* they ſaid could both do and tell many things, chiefly againſt the Earl of *Bothwel.* Whereupon the ſaid *Richard Graham* was apprehended, and brought to *Edinburgh*, and being examined before his Majeſty, I being preſent, he granted that he had a familiar Spirit, which ſhewed him ſundry things; but he denied that he was a Witch, or had any frequentation with them. But when it was anſwered again, how that *Amy Simpſon* had declared, that he cauſed the Earl of *Bothwel* addreſs him to her: He granted that to be true, and that the Earl of *Bothwel* had knowledge of him by *Effe Machalloun*, and *Barbary Naper*, *Edinburgh* Women. Whereupon he was ſent for by the Earl *Bothwel*; who required his help to cauſe the King's Majeſty his Maſter to like well of him. And to that effect he gave the ſaid Earl ſome Drug, or Herb, willing him at ſome convenient time to touch therewith his Majeſties face. Which being done by the ſaid Earl ineffectually, he dealt again with the ſaid *Richard*, to get his Majeſty wracked, as *Richard* alledged. Who ſaid, he could not do ſuch things himſelf, but that a notable Midwife who was a Witch called *Amy Simpſon*, could bring any ſuch purpoſe to paſs. Thus far the ſaid *Richard Graham* affirmed divers times before the Council; nevertheleſs he was burnt with the ſaid *Simpſon*, and many other Witches. This *Richard* alledged, That it was certain what is reported of the Fairies, and that Spirits may take a form and be ſeen though not felt.

The Earl of *Bothwel*, as I ſaid, was entred to Ward within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, his Majeſty not willing to credit his Deviliſh Accuſers, but the Council thought fit that for a while he ſhould paſs his time in other Countries, and ſo to be ſet free upon ſome Articles, and Conditions. But ſome of thoſe who were appointed to deal with him, endeavoured to make advantage of him to be his friends. Others who were deſirous to have the State troubled, made him falſe advertiſements, as if his life had been in danger. Which cauſed him reſolve to ſave himſelf over the Caſtle Wall, and retired himſelf to *Caithneſs*:

whence

whence he was ſhortly after ſent for by ſuch as were male-contents, and others who were deſirous to fiſh in troubled waters, alledging they had made him friends enough in Court, and that there was a fair enterpriſe deviſed, to take the King, and kill the Chancellour. Upon which information, he was eaſily perſwaded to come, and make himſelf head of that enterpriſe.

He therefore not long after accompanied with *James Douglas* ſometime Laird of *Spott*, the Laird of *Nidrie*, Mr. *John Colvil*, and ſome others, entred into the Kings Palace late, about ſupper time, by the paſſage of an old Stable, not without ſecret intelligence of ſome about his Majeſty. So ſoon as they were all within the Cloſe of the Palace, they cried Juſtice, Juſtice, a *Bothwel*, a *Bothwel*, and had been Maſters of the whole, were it not that *James Douglas* of *Spott* after that he had taken the Keys from the Porters, entred within the Porters Lodge to relieve ſome of his Servants, who were kept there in Priſon, and had been examined upon ſuſpicion of the ſlaughter of his good Father the old Laird of *Spott*, where he met with ſome reſiſtance from the Porters, the noiſe whereof did riſe ſooner than was the intention of the enterpriſers. Which allarmed his Majeſty, the Chancellour and others, to ſhut and fortifie their Chamber-doors, and to make reſiſtance till ſome relief came from the Cannon-gate, conducted by my Brother Sir *Andrew Melvil* of *Garvock*, Maſter of his Majeſty's Houſehold, who knew a ſecret paſſage through the Abby Church, and entred by the ſame in Armour. Whereof the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Company being advertiſed, they ſtole quietly through the Galleries unto the part where they entred the Palace, and fled without any great harm as God would have it. In his out-going, he chanced to meet with *John Shaw* Maſter Stabler to his Majeſty, whom he ſlew, together with his Brother, being in a rage that the enterpriſe had failed. But divers of his Company were apprehended by my ſaid Brother, and by others, who were all Executed the next day.

Their manner of proceeding was, firſt the Laird of *Spott* with a Company took the Keys, and made themſelves Maſters of the Gates of the Palace; another Company was directed to the Chancellour, who was ſitting at his Supper, and my Brother Sir *Robert* with him, and they had been taken, had it not been for the Laird of *Spot*'s earneſtneſs to relieve his Servants. The bruit whereof cauſed the Chancellour to flee out of his Hall to his Chamber, and ſhut the door after him. So that my ſaid Brother got no entry, but retired himſelf to another void houſe, whither none purſued him, neither was he in any fear for himſelf.

The Earl of *Bothwel* accompanied with Mr. *John Colvil* and others addreſſed themſelves unto the Queens Chamber door, where he ſuppoſed the King would be found. But the door was defended well by *Hary Lindſay* of *Kilſans*, Maſter of her Houſhold. In the mean time, his Majeſty was conveyed up to that Tower above the ſaid Chamber, after the door of her Majeſties Chamber had been broken with Hammers in divers parts, and that Mr. *John Colvil* had cauſed bring fire to burn it. The door of the Chancellours Chamber was manfully defended by himſelf. He cauſed his men to ſhoot out of the Windows continually, and through doors. Where *Robert Scot*

Brother to the Laird of *Balweary* was ſhot through the thigh. The Chancellour took courage when he heard my Brothers voice, and then the enterpriſers fled as ſaid is.

At their firſt entry within the Palace, I was ſitting at Supper with my Lord Duke of *Lennox*, who incontinently took his Sword, and preſſed forth. But he had no company, and the place already was full of Enemies: We were compelled to fortifie the Doors and Stairs, with Tables, Forms and Stools, and be Spectators of that ſtrange hurly burly for the ſpace of an hour, beholding with Torch-light forth of the Duke's Gallery their reeling, their rumbling with Halberts, the clacking of their Culverins, and Piſtols, the dunting of Mells and Hammers, and their crying for Juſtice. Now there was a paſſage betwixt the Chancellour's Chamber and my Lord Duke's by a Stair, and during this fray, the Chancellour came up the ſaid Stair, and deſired entry into my Lord Duke's Chamber. My Lord Duke by my advice, deſired him to cauſe his men debate at the nether door ſo long as they might, and offered to receive himſelf within the Chamber. Which the Chancellour took in an evil part, and ſuſpected my Lord Duke: And ſo returned back again to his own Chamber, and debated the beſt he could, as ſaid is. So ſoon as my Lord Duke ſaw a company of friends within the Cloſe, he went forth to purſue the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Company, but the night was dark, and they took them ſpeedily to their horſes and eſcaped.

They being retired, we got entry to her Majeſties Chamber, whither the King was for the time come down. Where his Majeſty diſcourſed with me a good ſpace, concerning this terrible attempt, and of his many hard misfortunes. Where I left not to tell his Majeſty ſome of the ſpecial Cauſes of the ſaid enterpriſes, and how that many of them might have been prevented by a prudent and careful Government, as may be ſufficiently marked and conſidered by the many admonitions, and former advertiſements made unto his Majeſty before all the accidents that chanced unto him, and alſo in this. For two days before this enterpriſe, my Brother Sir *Robert* and I, had got intelligence, that ſome ſuch deſign was ſhortly to be put in execution by the Earl of *Bothwel*, and his Complices againſt his Majeſty, and the Guiders of Court. Whereof his Majeſty made no accompt, though thereof advertiſed. But was the next day going to hunting, which coming to my Brother's Ears, he roſe out of his Bed in his Shirt, only in his Night-Gown; and came forth to the utter Cloſe of the Abby, and took his Majeſty by the Bridle, (for he was already upon Horſe-back) uſing many perſwaſions to have ſtayed him, though all in vain: For we were in doubt whether the enterpriſe would be executed in the Fields, or in the Palace.

After this attempt, his Majeſty went up to the Town of *Edinburgh* for his greater ſecurity; where there were divers new enterpriſes made, whereof my Brother Sir *Robert* getting frequent advertiſements, ſometimes to keep his Lodging ſuch a night, ſometimes to be well accompanied ſuch a night, as being one who had done pleaſures to many, and was not hated, nor would never have been in danger, ſo that he could but ſave himſelf from the firſt fury of the attempters.

This hath been the hard Eſtate of this good King, occaſioned by his laying the burthen of his Affairs upon a few hated and envied for their Ambition, Covetouſneſs, and Partialities, who ſo ſoon as they had attained ſo weighty a charge, took only care how to make themſelves ſoon rich, moſt commonly by the wrack of others. So blindly tranſported by ambition and greedineſs, that they neglected both King and Common-Wealth, ſatisfying the King with fair language, though diſpleaſing the Country with foul deeds; caring only how to diſcredit and bear down ſo many honeſt men, as they knew would diſcover their misbehaviour, or who would oppoſe them in their pernicious deſigns, which I may juſtly teſtifie for my part.

Not long after this, a new enterpriſe was made, to make a great alteration in Court, by ſome Courtiers among themſelves. When as the Maſter of *Glams* was Treaſurer, Sir *George Hume* Maſter of the Wardrobe, my Lord of *Spinze* Gentleman of the Chamber, and young *Logie*; alſo Sir *John Maitland*, Lord *Thirlſtane* Chancellour, Sir *Robert* my Brother Treaſurer depute, had the principal handling of the Office by disburſing and receiving; the Provoſt of *Lincludin* Collector, and *Seatoun* of *Parbroth* Controller, Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clarkingtoun* Secretary, and I was one of the Privy Council, and Gentleman of her Majeſties Chamber; my Lord Duke of *Lennox*, my Lord *Hume*, and my Lord of *Mar* were drawn upon this courſe, to reform the abuſes at Court as was alledged. There was no good liking between the Maſter of *Glams*, and my Lord of *Spiny*, chiefly for the feud between the Houſes of *Crauford* and *Glams*. At that time my Lord *Spiny* was in great favour with his Majeſty, and ſometime his Bed-fellow: And upon that accompt he was envied. And beſides the foreſaid feud, he was accuſed to have been a dealer with the Earl of *Bothwel*, and upon that was for a time decourted. Young *Logie* was alſo thought to have had much dealing with the ſaid Earl, and was accuſed, taken and warded for the ſame. But he eſcaped out of a Window in *Dalkieth*, by the help of a *Daniſh* Gentlewoman; whom he afterward married.

There was great hatred betwixt my Lord *Duke* and the Chancellour. For after the late enterpriſe in the Abby, the Chancellour cauſed cloſe up the paſſage with Stone and Lime that was betwixt their Lodgings, whereby he gave the *Duke* to underſtand that he ſuſpected him; which was too raſhly done by the ſaid Chancellour. For after that, the new alteration was intended, and called the enterpriſe made at *Dalkieth*, my Lord *Duke*, and my Lord *Hume* riding from *Dalkieth*, to *Edinburgh*, met the Chancellour well accompanied riding to Court, where the ſaid Lords made a mint to ſet upon him to ſlay him; yet the matter was at that time taken up by *Alexander Hoom* of *North-Berwick*, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, who were in company with the Chancellour for the time. But ſhortly after that the Chancellour left the Court, retiring himſelf to his Houſe, and in his abſence a great number of faults were charged upon him, and among the reſt, how he had ſo long hindred the King's marriage, whereby the Queens Majeſty was made his great Enemy. The Maſter of *Glams* alſo would fain have had my Brother out of his Office, to brook the whole Office of *Treaſurer* alone. Therefore the Laird of *Carmichall*

Captain of the Guard, was eaſily perſwaded to cauſe a number of the Guard, who ſtood with Culverins at the Gates of the Houſe of *Dalkeith*, to boaſt to ſlay my ſaid Brother divers times in his paſſing in and out of the ſame houſe, ſuppoſing that my Brother ſhould fear his Life, and leave the Court, as the Chancellour had done. But my Brother made no accompt of their boaſts; for he knew the Duke was his friend, and that he had but few enemies: Therefore he frequented the Court more frequently then formerly, but came always well accompanied; for they could get nothing to lay to his charge, but ſaid to his Majeſty that he was too laviſh in his Office to be a Treaſurer, over eaſie in his Compoſitions, and over gentle to ſuch as were denounced to the horn. The Queens Majeſty according to her cuſtom, whenever ſhe underſtands that his Majeſty by wrong information is ſtirred up againſt any honeſt Servant, or Subject, ſhe incontinently intercedes for them, and uſeth great diligence to get ſure knowledge of the verity, that ſhe may the boldlier ſpeak in their favour. Therefore ſo ſoon as her Majeſty underſtood that they were dealing againſt Sir *Robert* my Brother, it pleaſed her to ſpeak far in his favour, declaring how that at her firſt Landing in this Country his Majeſty had preſented him to her, praiſing him as one who had been a true and faithful Servant to the Queen Regent his Grand-mother, to the Queen his Mother, and to himſelf, willing her to look upon him as ſuch, and to follow his advice. Alſo many of the Lords took my Brother's part in ſuch ſort, as he ſtill kept the Court and his Office.

When this alteration was made I was abſent, and at my coming again to Court, his Majeſty told me of the Chancellour's fearful retreat, and that he was in no danger in his company. I anſwered again, that the Prince's preſence ſhould be a ſafe-guard, albeit it was not always ſo in *Scotland*. It appeared that his Majeſty was ſomewhat altered upon the Chancellour, my Lord *Spiny*, and my Brother. For as the Maſter of *Glams* would have had his Office, ſo others miſliked him, becauſe he haunted the Chancellour's company, and was lookt upon as his great friend, who was generally hated. So that his Majeſty was moved to think and ſay that he was not meet for his Office. I being preſent, anſwered, That it grieved me to the heart, to hear and ſee ſo good a Prince always invironed with bad company, cauſing him ſo oft without reaſon or offence to caſt off his moſt faithful Servants; and that it would be ſeen, let men ſerve never ſo well, if they were miſrepreſented by ſuch as had his Ear, it availed nothing. To this His Majeſty replied, That he knew my Brother to be a true Servant, but too gentle, liberal, and eaſie in his Compoſitions: he declared that he would never alter upon him nor me, ſo that he continued conſtant againſt the intentions of thoſe who were about him.

Here it may be ſeen how neceſſary it is to have good friends about the Prince, and how hurtful and dangerous it is for a Courtier, when ſuch as have the Prince's Ear are his Enemies. For in that caſe, whatſoever his good Service hath been, he is in hazard of being couped and wracked.

About this time the Earl of *Arran*, who had been abſent ever ſince the Road of *Sterling* came to Court, and ſpoke with his Majeſty, and pretended to have obtained again his Office of Chancellour. His Majeſty had ſtill ſome favour for him, and would have been content of his company. But others held him back, and ſhortly after that he was ſurpriſed, and ſlain by *James Dowglas* of *Park-head*, in revenge of the death of the Earl of *Mortoun* his Uncle. Little diligence was made to revenge the ſame, many thinking ſtrange that he was permitted ſo long to live, in reſpect of his arrogant and inſolent behaviour, when he had the Court at his will.

Now the Chancellour, who was decourted at the alteration made in *Dalkieth*, did what he could to procure his Majeſties favour, which at laſt he obtained, and was again introduced. But at firſt, the Queen would not ſee him; yet at length by the moyan of Sir *Robert Ker* of *Ceſfoord*, who had married his Brother's Daughter his peace was alſo made with her Majeſty.

About this time there did ariſe great ſtrife and diſorders in the Country, between the Earls of *Huntly* and *Murray*; between the Earls of *Caithneſs* and *Sunderland*; between my Lords *Hamiltoun* and *Angus*: for divers of them made ſuits, and obtained Commiſſion, with ample Priviledges over other Lands, as well as over their own, which engendred many diſcords. Whereof I advertiſed his Majeſty, that Order might be taken therewith. Whereupon the Council being Convened, they ordered Ltters to be directed in his Majeſties name, charging them all to deſiſt from Hoſtility, and to compear before the Privy-Council at prefixed days. Firſt the Earls of *Murray* and *Huntly* compeared, there being a Gentleman of the name of *Gordoun* killed with a ſhot out of the houſe of *Tarnua* by the Earl of *Murray*. Both the parties being come ſtrong to Court, were commanded to keep their Lodgings, for preventing of trouble before their compearing. When his Majeſty was adviſed by the Chancellour what to do in reference to that matter, then his Majeſty propoſed the ſame to the Council; to wit, three points, either preſent Agreement to be made, or Warding both the Earls, or Caution to be taken of both; then to ſend home the one, and hold the other ſtill at Court for a while. His Majeſty following forth this Propoſition, declared firſt, That the parties could not be agreed, becauſe of the hot blood of the Laird of *Cluny*, *Gordoun*'s Brother lately ſlain. Concerning Warding, he alledged, That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* had enough of priſoners already; that the Abby was not a fit Priſon for Noblemen: So that it would be fitteſt to take Caution of them both, and to hold them ſundry, to ſend home the one, and retain the other at Court for a ſeaſon. The Chancellour was of that opinion, and ſundry others who uſed to depend upon ſuch who had the chief handling. Then his Majeſty commanded me to tell my Opinion, which was different from this: I adviſed preſent agreement, ſuppoſing that the Earl of *Huntly* for his Majeſties pleaſure, and in obedience to his command, would not refuſe to compound the matter by a preſent up-taking, ſeeing he was come ſo great a journy with his Lady and whole Houſhold, to remain all Winter at *Edinburgh*. At this the Chancellour took me up ntingly, ſaying, that the Earl of *Huntly* would tarry at Court all that day till to morrow, and would part no ſooner; for he had promiſed to the ſaid Earl that advantage over his Enemy, albeit I knew the Earl's intention was to tarry all Winter at Court. The *Juſtice Clark* was of my judgment, but ſaid, that it appeared his Majeſty with the Chancellour had already concluded to ſend *Huntly* home, and keep the other at Court. So ſoon as *Huntly* went home, wanting his competitor, he triumphed and took ſundry advantages upon the Earl of *Murray*'s Land, giving the Earl juſt occaſion of complaint, and getting no redreſs, he retired himſelf from the Court, and became ſo malecontent, that he took plain part with the Earl of *Bothvel*, who was ſtill upon his enterprizes.

The Earl of *Huntly* being advertiſed that his Adverſary was an Out-law with the Earl of *Bothwel*, he returned again to Court, to get yet ſome advantage upon him. But in the mean time the Lord *Ochiltrie* endeavoured to agree them by conſent of his Majeſty. He drew the Earl of *Murray* to *Dunibirſil* to be near hand, that Conditions and Articles might be added, and paired at the pleaſure of their friends. The Earl of *Huntly* being alſo made privy to his coming to *Dunibirſil*, obtained incontinently a Commiſſion (appearing therein to do his Majeſty acceptable Service) to purſue by Fire and Sword the Earl of *Bothwel*, and all his partakers. Little knew his Majeſty that under this general, he was minded to aſſail the Earl of *Murray* at his own houſe, to kill him, as he did to the regret of many. But the Lord *Ochiltrie* took ſuch a deſpight that his friend was ſo ſlain under communing, as he alleadged, that he took plain part with the Earl of *Bothvel*, and ſo did divers others in revenge of his quarrel, incouraging the ſaid Earl to aſſail his Majeſty within his Palace of *Falkland*, having divers in Court familiar enough with his Majeſty upon the ſaid conſpiracy with him, whoſe Council his Majeſty followed moſt. So that they drew him into a Net to abide ſtill in *Falkland*, notwithſtanding of the many ſure advertiſements that had been made unto him. Such hath been his Majeſty's hard fortune in many ſuch ſtraits.

The few number who were faithful to, and careful of his Majeſty, counſelled him after the firſt advertiſement, to paſs the *Coupar*, and Convene with all poſſible diligence the Barons of *Fiffe* for his defence. But ſuch as ſought his wrack, perſwaded him to tarry and delay; alledging that they had ſure advertiſement, that the Earl of *Lauthian* would not come out of *Lauthian*, till ſuch a day, which would have been two dayes longer and behind the day which he kept; for he came to *Falkland* two dayes ſooner. This advice was given, that his Majeſty might be ſurprized before he could either enter within the Tower of *Falkland*, or be provided with any forces to defend him. And becauſe they knew my Brother and me to be careful for him, they adviſed his Majeſty to ſend us home to our houſes that ſame night, that we underſtood the Earl of *Bothwel* would be there, and had ſo told his Majeſty, but he believed his abuſers better. We gave his Majeſty counſel to ride quietly to *Bambrigh*, that there he might when he pleaſed take a Boat and goe over to *Angus*, where he would have leiſure to Convene the Towns of *Pearth* and *Dundie*; and the Countrey thereabouts. But this advice was alſo overthrown, by thoſe who were upon the contrary part.

Thus we being commanded by his Majeſty to ride home, and to warn the Countrey in caſe he were beſieged within the Tower, we obeyed. My Brother that ſame night, by the way, was advertiſed by one of the Earl of *Bothwel*'s company, that he was already in *Fiffe*, and would be in *Falkland* againſt Supper time. Upon which advertiſement he ſent his Gentleman called *Robert Anſlock*, to acquaint his Majeſty therewith, and to requeſt him to enter within the Tower in due time. When the ſaid *Robert* declared the matter unto his Majeſty, they all laughed him to ſcorn, calling him a Fool. The ſaid *Robert* returning malecontent to be ſo mocked, met the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Company upon the heighth of the *Lummonds*, when it was already dark night, and turned incontinently, as if he had been one of their Company. He uſed great diligence to be firſt at his Majeſty. Entring within the Palace of F*alkland*, he cloſed the Gates himſelf, and cryed continually to cauſe his Majeſty enter within the Tower, who at length believed him, and mocked him no more.

The Earl of *Bothwel* at his coming had Potards to break up Gates and Doors. It was not without ground alleadged, that ſome of thoſe who ſhot out of the Tower for his Majeſties defence, charged their Culverins with Paper. But ſome of his Majeſties Houſhold Officers ſhot out Bullets, which gave the Earl and his Company a great ſcare; as alſo his being within the Tower before he was ſurprized. And ſuppoſing that the Countrey would gather together, the ſaid Earl and his Company retired, and fled, none purſuing them: Whereas a few might eaſily have overtaken, and overthrown them. That ſame night I lay in my Boots upon my Bed, expecting word from F*alkland*, where there was one left to be ready for that effect. At whoſe back-coming, I with other friends and neighbours, did ride to Convene the Countrey about *Coupar*, to have reſcued his Majeſty. But the King immediately ſent me advertiſement, that the Earl was fled, yet he deſired me to bring theſe forward, whom he knew I would Convene for his relief, as they did to the number of 3000 that afternoon. Thus God miraculouſly delivered his Majeſty as he had done divers times before.

About this time came to his Majeſty an honeſt Gentleman from *Ireland*, called who made offers of conſequence to his Majeſty. Whereof the Queen of *England* was incontinenly advertiſed, and deſired to require the ſaid Gentleman to be delivered to her. Which the moſt part of the Council, counſelled his Majeſty to do. But the *Juſtice Clark*, my Brother, and I, were of a contrary opinion. Which deed did great harm to the ſettlement of his Majeſty's Affairs in *England* and *Ireland*. This I ſpeak with great regrate, becauſe it was ſo far againſt his Majeſties own mind, and yet he ſuffered it to be done, becauſe the chief Ring-leaders adviſed it, who have been alwayes won to the devotion of *England*.

Now the Prince being born at *Sterling*, the day of in the year his Majeſty thought fit to ſend Ambaſſadours to *England*, *Denmark*, *France* and *Flanders*, to require their Ambaſſadours to be ſent to the Baptiſm of the Prince his firſt-born Son. The Council were commanded to nominate ſuch as were meeteſt to be ſent on that meſſage, as they did. Yet ſome obtained that Commiſſion, who were very unmeet for that Errand, as Sir *William Keeth*, for he could neither ſpeak *Latine*, *French* nor *Flemings*. The Laird of *Eaſter Weems* procured to carry the Commiſſion to *France*, and alſo to *England*, becauſe he was to go thither about his own Affairs, being the King of *France* his Servant. But Mr. *Peter Young* ſped beſt, who ſent to *Denmark*, and to the Dukes of *Mecklburg*, and *Brunſwick*, for he got three fair Chains. But the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *England* gave nothing; which they would have been engaged to do, if Ambaſſadors had been ſent to them expreſs. Neither ſent the King any Ambaſſadors here at that time. The Queen of *England* was once reſolved to have done the ſame, till ſhe was advertiſed by her own Ambaſſadour in *France*, that the King was reſolved to ſend none. Then very late ſhe ſent the Earl of *Suſſex*, to let us ſee that ſhe would ever be a ready Friend, when *France* would refuſe and lye back. On the other part the Dukes of *Mecklburg* and *Brunſwick* were diſcontent that they were ſo far ſlighted, as not each of them to be thought worthy of an Expreſs. A ſpecial day was appointed for Solemnizing the ſaid Baptiſm. The Ambaſſadors of *Denmark* and *Dutchland* arrived almoſt together. His Majeſty had ſent for me to be there at their coming to receive them, and to entertain them. But the Ambaſſadours of *Mecklburg* and *Brunſwick*, would not ride out of *Leeth* in company with the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadour, when they were Convoyed up to *Edinburgh*, but deſired a Convoy apart.

A few dayes after them, arrived the Ambaſſadours of the Eſtates of the Low-Countreys, to wit, *Monſieur de Broderod*, and *Monſieur Fulk* great Treaſurer of *Holland* and *Zeland*, who landed at *New-haven*: where I was well accompanyed to receive them, having Horſe and Footmantles in readineſs to carry them up to *Edinburgh* to their Lodgings.

A little before the landing of the ſaid Ambaſſadours the day of the Baptiſm was delayed, becauſe there was neither word of an Ambaſſadour from *France*, or *Ireland*, and the King's Chappel in the Caſtle of *Sterling* which was caſt down to be built again in a better form, was not yet compleated. So that the Ambaſſadours were ordered to remain in *Edinburgh* till all might be put in good order. Therefore his Majeſty appointed the Maſter of his Houſhold, and my Lord *Tungland*, my Brother, together with me, to entertain them upon his charges, and alſo to bear them company. After that they had tarried longer in *Edinburgh* (there being no appearance of any Ambaſſadours from *France* or *England*) we were commanded with ſome others of the Council to Convoy them to *Sterling*, where his Majeſty made his excuſe that they were ſo long delayed at *Edinburgh* But they alledged, they had great contentment in our company. Which his Majeſty forgot not to declare before the whole Council, giving me thanks, alledging, that I had done him good Offices, and this among the reſt, which he would never forget, and that he had three other of my Brothers all fit for ſuch matters, and for forreign Affairs.

Now being in doubt of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour's, the Ceremony was to be Solemnized without longer delay. In the mean time, there came word that the Earl of *Suſſex* was upon his journey toward *Scotland*, for the Queen his Miſtreſs, on whom the action ſtayed. The day of the Solemnity, there was great buſineſs for their Honours and Seats, that being agreed, there was an empty Chair ſet before the reſt for the King of *France* his Ambaſſadour. The order of the Banquet and Triumph I leave to others to ſet out.

When the Ambaſſadours had Audience of the Queens Majeſty, I was appointed to ſtand a little behind, and next unto her Majeſty. To the *Engliſh*, *Daniſh*, and *Dutch* Ambaſſadours, her Majeſty made anſwer her ſelf. But though ſhe could ſpeak ſeemingly *French*, yet ſhe rounded in my Ear, to declare her anſwer to the Ambaſſadour of the States of *Holland*. Then every one of them by order, gave their Preſents. The Jewels of Precious Stones the Queen received in her own hand, and then delivered them unto me to put them again in their Caſes, and lay them upon a Table which was prepared in the mids of the Chamber to ſet them upon. The Queen of *England*'s had a great ſhow, being a fair Cupboard of Silver overguilt, cunningly wrought, and ſome Cups of maſſy Gold. The Ambaſſadour of the States preſented a Golden Box, wherein was written in Parchment in Letters of Gold, A gift of a yearly Penſion to the Prince of five thouſand by year, with great Cups of maſſy Gold, two eſpecially, which were ſo weighty, that it was all that I could lift them, and ſet them down upon the ſaid Table. I leave it to others to ſet down the weight and value. But I ſay theſe which were of Gold, which ſhould have been kept in ſtore to poſterity, were ſoon melted, and diſpoſed: But if they had been preſerved, as they ought to have been, thoſe who adviſed to break them would have wanted their part.

All theſe Ambaſſadours being diſpatched, and well rewarded, thoſe of *Denmark* were adviſed by *John Lindſay* of *Monmuire* to cauſe with all diligence ſend new Ambaſſadours, to require the Contract of marriage made in *Denmark* to be fulfilled: Alledging that the Chancellour who had made it, had left out the Rents of the Abby of *Dumfarmling* fraudfully, and had taken in fee to himſelf, all the Lordſhip of *Muſſilburgh*. For this end two Ambaſſadours were ſent from *Denmark*, upon whom I was appointed to attend, to ſee them well entertained. As they were well inſtructed, ſo they happened upon a meet time, for the Chancellour was for the time decourted, and my Brother was Ambaſſadour for his Majeſty in *England*. So the Chancellour was cauſed to renounce his part. And becauſe my Brother Sir *Robert* was abſent, young Sir *Robert* his Son, and I, obliged us that his part, which was 13 Chalders of Victual ſhould be alſo renounced at his return, which was accordingly done. His Majeſty promiſed to him as much heritage in another part, in reſpect that his gift was obtained long before the Contract of marriage. Divers others who had portions of theſe Lands, were likewiſe compelled to renounce, either voluntarily, or by a new Law made for that effect.

FINIS.

AN

Alphabetical Table

OF THE

Principal MATTER contained in this BOOK.

A

ABbot *of* Dumfarmling *is ſent by the King's Lords to meet the Earl of* Lennox *in his paſſage to* England, *p.* 106. *His Meſſage to the Queen, and her Anſwer thereunto,* ibid. *Haſtens to the King at St.* Andrews, *where he behaves himſelf with great diſſimulation,* 135. *Endeavours by Gold to curry favour with Colonel* Stuart, 137. *Is after Impriſoned in* Lockleven, *ibid.*

Admiral *of* France *his death conſpired by Captain* Charry, *p.* 38. *but being diſcovered is killed by Monſieur* Chattelier, *ibid.*

Ambaſſadors *ſent from* Denmark, *three joined together in commiſſion to King* James, *arrive in* Scotland, *p.* 162. *Their Commiſſion and Demands, ill uſage and delayes, viſited by Mr.* Wotton, *who was very kind to them,* ibid. *Upon his inſtigation they inform his Majeſty of Reflections upon their Maſter by his Subjects, and of their rudeneſs, p.* 163. *The Ambaſſadours ſlight the Earl of* Arran, *having known him in* Denmark *but a private Soldier,* ibid. *Are Banquetted in his Majeſties name,* 165. *Take leave of his Majeſty,* 166. *Part well ſatisfied after they had received their Preſents on Ship-board from the hands of the Author* James Melvil, *p.* 167. *Promiſing to be good inſtruments of Amity,* ibid.

Ambaſſadours *arrive in* Scotland *from ſeveral parts upon the birth of Prince* Henry, *p.* 202. *Their ſeveral rich Preſents to the Queen at that time,* p. 204. *Are all diſpatcht and well rewarded,* ibid.

Areskine Alexander, *the Governour of King* James *during his Minority,* p. 125. *Is made Maſter of* Mar, *p.* 126.

Arran *Earl, ſee* James Stuart.

Athol *Earl, made Chancellour, p.* 126. *Hath* 1000 *men ready to take St.* Johnſtoun, *but being diſſuaded from it by the Author, deſires him to write to his Majeſty for a Licenſe for him and his to remain at home, p.* 169 *Which he did, and procur'd for him,* ibid. *Is written unto to come to the Parliament at* Lithgow, *p.* 170.

Atry *Lord, Uncle to the Earl of* Marſhal *nominated by the King's Council to go Ambaſſadour to* Denmark *with the Author to Treat about the King's Marriage,* p. 177. *Comes to Court, but finds the Council not ſo earneſt as his Majeſty, p.* 177, *and* 178. *Returns home, excuſing himſelf as ſickly and Aged, p.* 178.

Aubonie *Lord, returns from* France, *p.* 127. *Being the King's Favourite,* ibid. *is made Lord* Dalkieth, *and after Duke of* Lennox, 128. *A ſhort Character of him,* ibid. *led by evil Counſel to dangerous courſes,*

courſes, p. 131. *Underſtanding that his Majeſty was in the hands of the other Lords he retires to* Dumbartoun, *p.* 132. *Paſſeth through* England *to* France, *p.* 133. *And dies ſhortly after*, ibid.

B

BAlfour *Sir* James, *Captain of* Edinburgh *Caſtle*, p. 81. *delivers the Caſtle of* Edinburgh *to the Laird of* Grange, *p*, 90. *Is taken out of his own Houſe*, *and committed by the Regent's order*, p. 100. *Wins the Regent's familiars with Gold*, *p.* 102.

Balnears Henry *turns from the Proteſtant to the Popiſh Religion*, *p.* 7. *And by the perſwaſion of Abbot* Pally *breaks the intended Match between Prince* Edward *and* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *ibid.*

Barnbarrow *Laird*, *ſent Ambaſſadour to* Denmark *upon the Author's refuſal*, p. 176. *Returns with his Fellow-Commiſſioner, their Power being inſufficient, having no Commiſſion to conclude*, ibid.

Baſſingtoun, *a Learned* Scotsman *and Travellour*, *his Story concerning the Affairs of* England *and* Scotland, *p.* 92.

Baſtien, *a* French-man, *at the Banquet after the Baptiſm of King* James, *deviſed a Machine that gave great diſtaſte and diſturbance*, *p.* 76, *and* 77.

Beaton David *Cardinal*, *makes King* James *the Fifth's Will when dying, which he dictated, which was therefore annulled*, *p.* 6. *is ſlain in his Caſtle at St.* Andrews, *p.* 7. *by the complotting of Sir* George Douglas, &c. *ibid.*

Bedford *Earl*, *one of Queen* Mary's *ſureſt Friends in* England, *p.* 76. *Arrives in* Scotland *with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality*, ibid. *departs, and they are all rewarded*, 77. *deſires the Author to beſeech the Queen to entertain the King as formerly, and not to ſlight him*, ibid.

Bettancourt *Maſter of the Houſhold to the Queen Regent of* Scotland, *brings inſtructions to deſtroy Hereticks*, p. 24. *which ſhe obſerves being menaced*, ibid.

Biſhop *of St.* Andrews *deſigned Ambaſſadour for* England, *p.* 194. *Diſdained and diſhonoured in* England, *p.* 150. *The reaſon*, ibid. *Is nominated to be ſent Ambaſſadour to* Denmark, *p.* 176.

Biſhop Thomas, *a* Scotſman, *ſends a Letter from* England *to the Authour about the report of the Queen's marriage with her Husband's Murtherer, together with his Character, diſſwading her from it*, *p.* 79. *Which he ſhew'd the Queen, and was forced to flie for't*, ibid.

Bothwel Adam, *Biſhop of* Orkny, *p.* 84.

Bothwel *Earl*, *is ſent by the Queen to clear the Borders of Thieves upon the departure of thoſe that attended the Prince's Baptiſm*, *p.* 77. *He and Earl* Huntly *attempt the ſlaughter of the Earl of* Murry, *but were prevented*, ibid. *Is ſuſpected of ſome enterpriſe againſt the King*, *p.* 78. *The Earl of* Orkny *tells him, it would coſt him his life if he ſtayed at* Edinburgh, *ibid.* *Lays a Train of Powder and blows up the King's Lodgings*, ibid. *Upon a rumour of his murthering the King he calls an Aſſize of Lords, and is acquitted*, ibid. *He with a great company ſeizeth the Queen*, p. 80. *A number of Noblemen meet at* Edinburgh, *and declare it is the Queen's intereſt to marry him, which he did, having at that time the Lord* Huntly's *Siſter to Wife*, ibid. *Intends to kill Secretary* Lidington *in the Queen's Chamber, which had been effected, had not the Queen interpoſed, being married, he was very earneſt to get the young Prince into his hands*, ibid. *Flies from* Edinburgh

burgh, *and takes the Queen with him wherever he goes*, p. 82. *Convenes a great number of his Friends againſt the Lords, reſolving to fight them*, ibid. *Challengeth to fight any one that would maintain he murthered the King, but refuſeth the Lord* Grange *and* Tallibardine, *becauſe but Barons*, p. 83. *Then the Lord* Lindſay *offered the Combat, but he coldly declin'd it*, ibid. *Flies to the Caſtle of* Dunbar, *and from thence to* Sheatland, *p.* 84. *Is purſued by two Ships of the Lord* Grange*'s, and he ſaved himſelf in a little Boat*, p. 85. *Flies to* Denmark, *is kept there cloſe Priſoner, and dies mad and miſerable*, ibid.

Bothwel *and others endeavour to take the King and keep him*, p. 175. *but fail in their Enterpriſe*, ibid. *Labour with the King to ſend Sir* John Seatoun *to* Spain, *ibid.*

Bothwel Francis, *accuſed of a deſign againſt his Majeſty*; *Wards himſelf in the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *p* 194. *Deſiring to be Tried for the ſame*, ibid. *Eſcapes over the Caſtle-wall, and retires to* Caithneſſe, *p.* 195. *Is ſent for by ſome male-contents, who deſign'd to take the King and kill the Chancellour*, p. 196. *With whom he joyn'd and headed them*, ibid. *He with others enters into the King's Palace by night*, ibid. *Their proceedings therein*, p. 197. *Steals away quietly, but kills* John Shaw *Maſter Stabler to his Majeſty, and his Brother*, ibid. *He and his Party makes a ſecond attempt on his Majeſty in* Falkland, *p.* 202. *but finding reſiſtance, he and his Company fled*, ibid.

Bowes *Mr. Ambaſſadour Reſident at* Edinburgh *from Queen* Elizabeth, *p.* 142. *Attends upon* Walſingham *when he firſt received Audience*, p. 147. *A long time Reſident in* Scotland, *p.* 150. *Informs the* Engliſh *of the Biſhop of St.* Andrews *Qualities, when he was ſent Ambaſſadour to Queen* Elizabeth, *ibid.*

Broderade *Monſieur, and Monſieur* Fulke *ſent Ambaſſadours to* Scotland, *from the States of* Holland, *and arrives there upon the birth of the Prince*, p. 203.

Buchanan *Maſter to King* James, *p.* 125. *His Character*, ibid.

Buccleugh *Laird, Wiſe, True, Stout and Modeſt*, p. 113.

Burleigh *Lord, ſee* Cecil.

C

Cairo *Mr. Queen* Elizabeths *Couſin*, P. 141.

Calis *promiſed to be reſtored to* England *after the loſs of* St. Quintins, *p.* 22, *and* 23.

Caraffe *Cardinal, ſent Legat to* France *from the Pope*, p. 19. *The ground of his Embaſſy*, ibid. *Is ſtrangled by Pope* Pius *the* 4th, p. 20. *And why*, ibid.

Cardanus *an* Italian *Magician, Cures the Biſhop of* St. Andrews *of his Diſtemper*, p. 14.

Caprintoun *Laird, the Earl of* Arran*'s Vncle, is ſent by his Majeſty to reprove the Earl*, p 155.

Carmichael James, Miniſt. *of* Hadingtoun *writes the Hiſtory of thoſe Tricks the Devil play'd in* Scotland, p. 195. *And the whole depoſition of the Witneſſes upon the acount of the Earl of* Bothwel, ibid.

Carmichael *Laird, laments to the Author the ingratitude of the Regent of* Scotland, Mortoun, p. 124. *Follows the Authors Counſel, and becomes a great Courtier*, p. 125. *But proves afterwards ingratefull to the Author, who promoted him*, ibid. *Is made Captain of the Guards to King* James, p. 199. *Boaſts that he would kill Sir* Robert Melvil, ibid.

Caſimire *Duke, Second Son to the Elector* Palatine, *is about the* *Contract-*

Contracting a Marriage with the Duke of Lorrain's *Eldeſt Siſter,* p. 31. *But proved ineffectual,* ibid. *The reaſon thereof,* p. 32. *Finding no probabilty of a Match with Queen* Elizabeth, *he Marries the Elector of* Saxonies *Eldeſt Daughter,* p. 40. Cavatius *the Learned Mathematical Tutor of the Biſhop of* Valence, *is impriſoned by the* French *King,* p. 13. *The reaſon why,* ibid.

Cecil *Secretary, promiſeth rewards to* Ruxby *by Letter, but it was diſcovered to the Queen,* p. 69. *Pretends to be her friend, is the firſt perſon that whiſpered to her the News of the* Birth *of the Prince,* ibid. *Informes the Queen that the Duke of* Norfolk *was come to Court, and that ſhe ſhould ſeize him, which was done accordingly,* p. 99. *and* 100. *Created afterward* Lord Burleigh, *and cauſeth* Dalliſon *to be ſent Agent into* Scotland, p. 157. *Is diſcontented that* Walſingham *was too preciſe and would not confer with the Earl of* Arran, ibid.

Charles *the* 9th *of* France *ſuceeds* Francis *the Second,* p. 29.

Chattelleraült *impriſoned in* Edinburgh *Caſtle,* p. 101. *Set at liberty through the mediation of the* Lord Grange.

Clergy of Scotland *uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the interview of* Henry *the* 8, *and his Nephew King* James *the* 5th *of* Scotland, *p.* 2.

Clark Alexander, *Provoſt of* Edinburgh, *p.* 129.

Cockburn *Sir* Richard, *Secretary to King* James, *p.* 198.

Colvil John, *and Colonel* Steward *are ſent to the Convention at* St. Andrews, *and return,* p. 133. *Diſagree in their Commiſſion,* ibid. Colvil *and others impriſoned,* p. 137.

Conſtable *of* France *entertains the Author with deſign to promote him,* p. 15. *Is ſent with* 16000 *Men to keep the* Spaniard *from entring upon the Frontiers of* France, *p.* 20. *His Diſcourſe and Paſſion with an* Enthuſiaſt *who Fore-told his Mis-fortune,* ibid. *His Noble and Reſolute Anſwer to the Maſter of his Horſe, who adviſed him to fly,* p. 21. *He being overthrown by a Party of* Spaniards, *and his Men all ſlain deſired to be kill'd, but was ſhot in the Thigh and taken Priſoner,* p. 22. *Is Commanded by* Francis *the Second, King of* France *to retire,* p. 28. *Yet ſtill offers to retain the Author in his Service, which he accepts,* ibid. *Is ſent for to* Court, *but delays coming, and in the mean time the* French *King dies, and then he Poſts to Court like the Conſtable of* France, *Commanding all the Guards,* p. 29. *The Duke of* Guiſe *and the Cardinal his Brother are Commanded out of Town, and the Conſtable is kindly received by the Queen-Mother,* p. 29, *and* 30.

A Convention is appointed for ordering his Majeſties Affairs after his return from Denmark, p. 184. *But few of the Nobility appear there, being ſlighted at the Queens Coronation as they ſuppoſed,* ibid. *Reformation is deſigned by this Convention, but nothing performed,* ibid.

Condingknows *Laird, is made Captain of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh p. 174. *Deſires a Commiſſion to go Ambaſſador for* England, *but is denyed,* ibid.

The Council of England *conclude to take away the life of* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *Priſoner in* England, p. 171. *Falſly alledging that She practiced againſt the State,* p. 172. *Think fit to ſecure his Majeſty in* Scotland, *in the hands of the Baniſhed Lords, that ſo they might ſeek his life, or keep him a perpetual Priſoner, but herein prove defeated,* ibid. *Fall down upon their knees with many of the Nobility, Alledging that her life as well as their lives and fortunes was in hazard, by reaſon*

ſon of the practiſe of Queen Mary, ibid. *Received the Summons from Secretary* Daviſon, *and give her warning to prepare for Death the Night before*, ibid.

A Council Conven'd about the diſſention of ſeveral Lords, p. 200.

De Crook Monſieur, *is ſent Ambaſſador to the* French *King from* Scotland, *with a Letter about the foulneſs of the Murther of their King*, p. 82. *Receives an Anſwer from the Lords with a reſolution to uſe all diligence to detect the Murtherers*, ibid.

Crauford *Captain, Accuſeth Secretary* Lidington *of the Murther of the late King of* Scots, *p.* 100. *He being at that time Servant to the Earl of* Lennox, *Alledging his Commiſſion for ſo doing from the ſaid Earl his Maſter*, p. 110.

Crauford *Lord, is Committed to the Cuſtody of the Lord* Hamiltoun, p. 170.

Cunningham James *Captain, a diſcreet Men, Servant to the Lord of* Marr *then Regent in* Scotland, p. 115.

D

Darnly, *Son to the Earl of* Lennox, *a Handſom, Beardleſs, Lady-fac'd Man, p.* 48. *Procures a Licenſe from the Queen of* England *to go to* Scotland, *p.* 53. *His intention therein*, ibid. *Propoſeth a Marriage to Queen* Mary, *who refuſeth a Ring he preſented to her*, p. 56. *Which the Queen ſeems to diſreliſh*, ibid. *Becomes acquainted with* Rixio, *who was his great Friend to the Queen of* Scots, *ibid. Finds the Queen cold in her favours, after her confinement upon the murther of* Rixio, *p. 66. Follows the Queen (though ſlighted) whitherſoever ſhe went*, p. 77. *Goes to* Glaſcow, *falls ſick, being ſuſpected to have poiſon given him by a Servant of his own*, ibid. *Is brought from thence to* Edinburgh *to recover his health*, p. 78. *Dies, and how*, ibid.

Daviſon *is ſent Agent into* Scotland, *and afterwards made ſecretary to Queen* Elizabeth, *p.* 157. *Profeſſed himſelf a* Scot, *ibid. Remains at* Coupar *till he had Audience, which he had at* Falkland, *ibid. But proves deceitful*, p. 158. *Returns to* England, *ibid. Receives the written Summons for the Execution of Queen* Mary, *with a ſtrict charge not to deliver it without her expreſs Command*, p. 172. *But being deceived by the Council of* England *delivers it*, ibid. *For which he is Committed to the Tower by Queen* Elizabeth, *for diſobeying her orders upon that account*, p. 175.

Dingual *Lord, is ſent to King* James *for a Licenſe to return, or a Commiſſion to conclude the Match with* Denmark, *p.* 179. *Finds his Maieſty at* Aberdeen, *the Chancellour and moſt part of the Council being abſent*, p. 180. *So that he obtained a full power to conclude the ſaid Match*, ibid.

Doſel *Monſieur, Lieutenant in* Scotland *for the* French *King*, p. 24. *a paſſionate Man*, p. 25.

Douglas Archibald, *is cleanſed of the late King's murther in* Scotland, *p.* 174. *Frequents the Court familiarly*, ibid. *returns to* England *to remain Ambaſſador there*, ibid. *Hath great reputation with* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *yet injureth her Cauſe in* England, *and is diſcharged of his Embaſſy upon the Arrival of Sir* Robert Melvil *in* England, *ibid.*

Douglas George, *the Natural Son of the Lord* Angus *enters the King's Cloſet with the Lord* Ruthven, *the Queen being preſent, and with the Kings Dagger ſtruck him*, p. 64. *And afterwards drew him into the outer Hall, and kill'd him*, p. 65.

p. 65. *Conveys the Queen to* Lockleven *as a Captive to the King's Lords*, p. 90. *Hath the Houſe of the Caſtle delivered to him*, p. 121.

Douglas *Sir* George, *deſires to have the Commiſſion for Ambaſſadour to* Spain, *p.* 175. *But is denied*, ibid.

Douglas James, *the Natural Son of the Earl of* Mortoun, *p.* 127. *Kills the Earl of* Arran *in Revenge of his Uncle's death the Earl of* Mortoun, 200.

Drake *Sir* Francis, *by a Stratagem of a Ship full of Powder with a burning Link, fires the* Spaniſh *Navy, and diſcomfits them*, p. 176.

Drumhaſel *Laird, Maſter of King* James *his Houſhhold when young*, p. 125. *Draws the Earl of* Arguile *and* Athol *to* Sterling, *p.* 126. *Is diſcharged out of Court*, ibid. *Aſſures the Earl of* Grange *that the Duke of* Lennox *deſigned to kill him*, p. 131. *though it prov'd falſe*, p. 133. *Is impriſon'd by the procurement of the Earl of* Arran *and his Lady*, p. 137.

Du Bartas *Monſieur, famous for his* French *Poeſie, arrives at* Scotland, *p.* 176. *Propoſeth a marriage with the King of* Scots *and the Princeſs of* Navarre, *ibid. Reſides at* Falkland *with the King*, p. 177.

Dundee *Earl, is ſent one of the Ambaſſadors to* Denmark *about the King's marriage*, p. 179.

Dudly, *Lord* Robert, *afterward made Earl of* Leiceſter, *is propoſed by Mr.* Randolph, *as a fit Match for* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *p.* 40.

E

EAſter Weems, *Laird, goes with a Commiſſion to* England, *and* France, *p.* 103. *Is a Penſioner to the* French *King*, ibid.

Elizabeth *Queen of* England *ſends Inſtructions to Mr.* Randolf, *her Ambaſſadour in* Scotland, *to propoſe the Lord* Robert Dudly *as a fit Match for* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *p.* 40. *Diſreliſheth the propoſal of a Match between Queen* Mary *and* Charles *the Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *p.* 41. *which appears by her ſending the Earl of* Suſſex *to the Emperor's Court to draw on the marriage of the Arch-Duke with her ſelf*, ibid. *This occaſion'd grudges between the two Queens of* England *and* Scotland, *p.* 42. *She deſigns* Darnly *for Queen* Mary'*s Husband*, ibid. *Creates the Lord* Robert Dudly *Earl of* Leiceſter, *and Baron of* Denbigh, *p.* 47. *Is Diſtemper'd with a Fever, inſomuch that her life was queſtion'd*, p. 67. *Diſturbed at the Birth of the Prince, Queen* Mary'*s Son*, p. 69. *Yet promiſeth to be Goſſip to him by proxy of Lords and Ladies*, p. 70. *Upon her fair promiſes Queen* Mary *flies to* England, *but ſhe would not ſee her, though ſhe often deſired it*, p. 92. *Cauſeth her to be kept Priſoner till ſhe loſt her life, after a tedious confinement*, ibid. *Is Reproached by the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Princes, for her unprincely dealing with Queen* Mary, *p.* 93. *Having obtained her deſires upon the Accuſation of Queen* Mary *received great content, having now matter ſufficient to ſhew Foreign Ambaſſadours why ſhe detained the Queen*, p. 97. *Is glad of the Queen's diſhonour, yet ſends privately to comfort her upon her falſe Accuſation*, ibid. *Her Anſwer to the Abbot of* Dumfarmling *upon his Propoſition*, p. 106. *Sends an Ambaſſadour to the King of* Scots, *when confin'd, offering him her Aſſiſtance*, p. 132. *Sends a ſhort Letter to King* James, p. 139. *The Contents thereof*, p. 140. *Receives intelligence of a Magnificent Embaſſy from* Denmark *to* Scotland, *p.* 161. *by Three Ambaſſadours with a ſplendid Train*, ibid. *Upon which ſhe ſends* Wotton *to* Scotland *to diſturb the Affairs of that Kingdom,* ibid. *Is intreated by the Council and Nobility to take away the life of Queen* Mary, *p.* 172. *Which at firſt ſhe refuſeth, but afterwards condeſcends to,* ibid. *Purgeth her ſelf of the Death of Queen* Mary *as being deceived by her Council and Mr. Secretary* Daviſon, *p.* 175. *Is ſent to for conſent to the Marriage of King* James *with the Daughter of the King of* Denmark, *and returns her Anſwer,* p. 179. *Saying, She would employ her Credit with the King & Princeſs of* Navarre, *to bring his Marriage with that Princeſs to paſs,* idid. *Sends the Earl of* Suſſex *Ambaſſador to* Scotland, *and upon that account,* p. 203.

Elphingſtoun Nicholas, *adviſeth the Regent* Mortoun *that he was in disfavour with the King, and ought by Gold to purchaſe friends,* p. 125.

Emanuel *Duke of* Savoy, *leads the* Spaniſh *Army that Invades* France, *p.* 201.

Emperor of Germany *retires to a Monaſtery of Monks in* Spain, *p.* 18. *Endeavours to get his Son* Philip *Elected Emperor, but is denyed,* ibid. *Gives him all the Dominions he had in* Spain, Italy, *and the Low-Countries,* p. 19. *Labours for a Treaty with* France *for* 5 *years, which was agreed and ſworn to, but broken by the Popes perſuaſion,* ibid.

Enig, *the* Dutch *word, admits of Two divers interpretations, which was diſputed by the Emperor,* &c. *p.* 12.

F

Ferdinand *King of* Bohemia, *Brother to the Emperor* Philip *and Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *Elected Emperor by the Princes,* p. 19.

Fernthaſt *Laird, Warden of the Borders on the* Scots *ſide,* p. 166. *Marries to the Earl of* Arran's *Brothers Daughter,* ibid.

Foſter *Sir* John, *Warden, a ſtrange trick of his Steed, that mounted and hurt* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *when diſcourſing with him,* p. 77.

Francis *the 2d Dauphin of* France *Married to Queen* Mary *of* Scotland, *p.* 8. *Succeedes his Father* Henry *the* 2d, *p.* 28. *Is wholly guided by the Duke of* Guiſe, *and Cardinal* Lorrain, ibid. *Raiſeth Men to ſend into* Scotland, *p.* 29. *Dies at* Orleans *in* France, *ibid.*

Frederick *King of* Denmark, *his Genealogie related by the Author to King* James, *when he had Three Ambaſſadors joyned in one Commiſſion in* Scotland, *p.* 165. *Hath ſeveral fair Daughters,* p. 167.

G

Gaury *Earl, Treaſurer of* Edinburgh, *p.* 129. *Intercedes for the life of the Duke of* Lennox, *p.* 132. *Keeps the Earl of* Arran *in Cuſtody,* p. 133. *Repents his being drawn in by* Drumhaſel *to joyn with the Lords that were againſt the King,* ibid. *But at* St. Andrews *he turns to the Lords of the Kings Party,* p. 136. *Treats his Maieſty Royally at the Houſe of* Ruthven, *p.* 137. *Begs his Majeſties Pardon and obtains it,* ibid. *Is driven from Court by the Earl of* Arran, *but reconciled to him,* p. 142. *Yet conditions being unperform'd, he reſolves to leave the Country,* ibid. *Obtains his Majeſties conſent to depart, the ſaid Earl of* Arran *proving his mortal Enemy,* p. 155. *Befores he goes takes part with the Earl af* Angus *and others in their deſign to take* Sterling *in deſpight of the ſaid Earl,* ibid. *Is taken Priſoner in that enterprize,* p. 156. *Is near of Kin to his Majeſty, hath his Lands ſeized, and is Executed on the Scaffold, dying a devout Chriſtian,* ibid.

Gordoun *a Gentleman of that name, is kill'd by the Earl of* Murray, *p.* 200.

Graham Richard, *hath a familiar Spirit*, p. 195. *Is brought to* Edinburgh *and examined before his Majeſty about the Earl of* Bothwel, *and burnt with other Malefactors*, ibid.

Grange *Laird, is Lord Treaſurer and Favourite to King* James, *upon the Kings Command alledgeth reaſons againſt the Prelates Propoſitions*, p. 2, 3, *and* 4. *A ſtout, bold Man*, p. 4. *Purſues with two Ships* Bothwell, *p.* 184. *But he eſcapes, and his Servants were taken and the firſt diſcoverers of the King's Murther*, p. 185. *Is made Chief of a Company of Horſemen, who came to fight againſt* Bothwel, *which the Queen underſtanding, ſends for him under ſurety*, p. 83. *Was like to be kill'd by a Souldier appointed by* Bothwel *for that purpoſe, but was ſaved by the Queens crying out*, idid. *Offers to Combat* Bothwel *upon his Challenge, but is coldly refuſed*, ibid. *Promiſeth upon his honour to protect Sir* James Balfour *upon his delivery of* Edinburgh *Caſtle to him*, p. 100. *Offers to fight with Mr.* Archibald Douglas *being guiltleſs of the Kings Muther*, ibid. *Takes Secretary* Lidington *into the Caſtle of* Edinburg, p. 101. *His vertues are envied by ſome, and his Charge coveted by others*, p. 104. *Obtains a Warrant from the King's Lords to ſet the Duke of* Chattellerault *and the Lord* Herreis *at liberty*, p. 105. *Sticks cloſe to the Kings Authority*, p. 108. *Sides at laſt with the Queens Lords*, ibid. *Sends for the Laird of* Fernihaſt *and* Buccleugh, *who reſolved to ſeize on the Lords at* Sterling, *p.* 113. *Which they attempted but failed*, p. 114. *Laments the ſlaughter of the Earl of* Lennox *Regent of* Scotland, ibid. *Was ever eſteemed honeſt*, p. 119. *Is taken Priſoner after the delivery of* Edinburgh *Caſtle with Sir* Robert Melvil *and* Lidington, *p.* 121. *Is wracked to death*, p. 123. *His Character*, ibid.

Guiſe *Duke, goes with a great Army into* Italy, *after the breach of the Truce between the Emperor and* French *by the Popes perſuaſion*, p. 19. *He and the Lieutenant of* Picardy *unexpectedly enters on the King of* Spain's *Dominions*, p. 19, *and* 20. *Is killed by* Poltrot *at the Siege of* Orleans, *p.* 35. *For which the Admiral of* France *is Accuſed*, p. 36. *But cleared*, ibid.

H

Hamiltoun *Laird, is advanced to be Governour of* Scotland, *p.* 7. *Induced to reſign the Government to the Queen*, p. 2. *Shoots the Regent* Murray *in his paſſage to* Lithgow, *p.* 203. *And Eſcapes*, ibid.

Henry *the* 8th *King of* England, *is diſcontented at the Popes denial of his Divorce from Queen* Katherine, *and thereupon proclaims himſelf Head of the Kirk, diſcharging St.* Peter's *Pennies here, and the Popes Authority*, p. 1. *Declares his Daughter* Mary *a Baſtard*, ibid. *Obtains a Divorce from his own Clergy, and ſeeks amity with his Nephew* James *the* 5th, *King of* Scotland, *deſiring an interview with him at* York, ibid. *A ſhort Character of him*, p. 3. *Is highly offended at the diſappointment and affront put upon him by King* James *his not meeting him at* York, *that he ſent an Army to* Scotland *to deſtroy it*, p. 5. *Is much afflicted at the death of the King of* Scotland, *and lays down the reaſons of his Warring with that Nation*, p. 6. *His wrath againſt the Pope is great*, ibid. *He demoliſheth Abbeys, and compells the Nobility to exchange their Lands for them,*

them, that might never return to the Kirk, ibid. *Endeavours a Match between* Edward *the Sixth his Son, and* Mary *of* Scotland, *though it brake off, and cauſed War between the two Kingdoms,* p. 7. *But it was at laſt agreed,* ibid.

Henry *the Second of* France *had hot Wars with the Emperour, the occaſion and management thereof from* p. 15, *to* p. 18. *Is hurt by the ſhiver of a Spear, engaging with the Earl of* Montegomery *at the Juſtings of his Daughter's Marriage with the King of* Spain, *p.* 28. *And dies Eight days after,* ibid.

Henry *Prince, King* James *his firſt Son, born at* Sterling, 202.

Herreis *Lord, is Impriſoned in the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *p.* 101.

Hume George, *turns* William Kieth *out of his place of Maſter of the Wardrobe, when King* James *was in* Denmark, *p.* 182. *Being Knighted is made Maſter of the Wardrobe,* p. 198.

Hume *Lord, takes part with the* Hamiltouns *and Queens Faction,* p. 106. *With whom the Regent* Mortoun *durſt not meddle, ſtanding in awe of his Party,* p. 122. *Dies ſhortly after, being a Priſoner in* Edinburgh *Caſtle,* ibid.

Hunſdon *Earl, hath a Conference on the Borders with the Earl of* Arran, *p.* 158. *Contrives a ſecret Plot,* ibid.

Huntley *Earl, is Chief of the new Faction about his Majeſty,* p. 175. *Endeavours to turn out the Maſter of* Gray, *and* Martland *the Chancellor,* ibid. *Procures the Gift of the Benefice of* Dumfarmling, *ibid. Great diſorders occaſioned by the Diſſention between him and other Earls,* p. 200. *Is ſent home hereupon,* p. 201. *Triumphs, and takes advantage of the Earl of* Murray's *Lands, giving him juſt cauſe of Complaint,* ibid. *Kills the Earl of* Murray, *ibid.*

I

James *the Fifth of* Scotland *his reſolute Speech to the Prelates,* p. 4. *Gives the Ward and Marriage of* Kelly *in* Angus *to the Second Son of the Lord* Grange, *ibid. Gives ear to the Clergy to put off the Convention with King* Henry *the* 8th *at* York, *ibid. Is forced to raiſe an Army to defend his Country upon that account,* p. 6. *Is much troubled at the Defeat of his Army, and uſeth ſevere Language againſt the Prelates, who fearing his diſpleaſure, poiſon him with an* Italian *Poſſet,* ibid. *His Character,* p. 7.

James *Lord Prior of St.* Andrews, *the Natural Son of* James *the Fifth,* p. 25. *Hears of Queen* Mary's *Reſolution to return to* Scotland, *and goes to* France *to requeſt it,* p. 31. *Returns to* Scotland *to prepare them for her Reception.* ibid.

James *the Sixth, King, born,* p. 69. *When of Age he cauſeth the Heirs of the Lord* Grange *to be reſtored,* p. 123. *Orders his bones to be taken up and honourably buried at* Killingborn, *ibid. Is brought up at* Sterling *by* Alexander Areskine, *and the Lady* Mar, *p.* 125. *Hath Four Maſters, their Character,* ibid. *The Earl of* Mortoun *being depoſed, he takes the Government into his own hands,* p. 128. *Is ſurpriſed by the Lords in the Houſe of* Huntingtoun, *p.* 132. *Is conveyed afterward to* Sterling, *and there retained,* ibid. *Laments his miſhandling during that Captivity,* ibid. *Invites by Letters ſome of the Nobility to a Convention,* p. 133. *Goes from* Falkland *to St.* Andrews, *ſome few dayes before the Convention, to the Earl of* March, *p.* 155. *Thinks himſelf there at liberty,* ibid. *Lodgeth in an old Inn there,* ibid. *Becomes Maſter of the Caſtle,* p. 136. *And* *declares his moderate intention toword all the Lords*, ibid. *Orders* 4 *Lords to retire, and retains the reſt as his Council*, ibid. *Cauſeth a Proclamation to be made according to his moderate intentions*, p. 137. *Returns the Author thanks, as the only inſtrument of procuring his liberty*, ibid. *Is gently inclined to all the Nobility, and Treated particularly by the Earl of* Gaury, ibid. *Solicites the Authority to prevail with the Lord* Gaury, *that the Earl of* Arran *might come to Court and kiſs his hand*, p. 138. *Promiſing he ſhould not ſtay there*, ibid. *Sends a Letter in Anſwer to Queen* Elizabeth'*s*, p. 140. *The Contents thereof*, p. 140, 141, *and* 142. *His Majeſty is taken again*, p. 142. *Gives Secretary* Walſingham *Audience*, p. 147. *Sends a Letter to Queen* Elizabeth, *promiſing not to bring again the Earl of* Arran *into Court*, p. 148. *Is taken at the Road of* Ruthven, p. 149. *And retain'd Captive*, ibid. *Takes little care to prevent inconveniences, yet obtains his liberty.* ibid. *Aſſures the Author that he would Convene a Council of Lords at* Edinburgh, *p.* 150. *His Dream concerning the Earl of* Gaury, *p.* 156. *Writes for* Melvil *the Author to come and adviſe him*, p. 157. *As alſo to come and entertain* Wotton, *being ſent to him by the Queen of* England, *p.* 159. *Whom he loved before he ſaw, by reaſon of the advantageous Character, which the Maſter of* Gray *gave him*, idid. *Orders the Author to entertain the* Daniſh *Ambaſſadours*, 162. *And becauſe they were three in Commiſſion wiſheth him to chooſe two more to accompany him, which he did*, ibid. *Gives them Audience at* Dumfarmling, *and is much diſſatiſfied at their ill handling*, ibid. *Grows impatient to hear the Author ſpeak againſt* Wotton, *p.* 164. *Acquaints the Author that he was informed the King of* Denmark'*s Deſcent was from Merchants*, ibid. *But after he was informed of the truth, he ſends for the ſaid Ambaſſadors*, p. 165. *Promiſeth them a ſpeedy diſpatch to their ſatisfaction*, ibid. *Orders a Banquet for them, is hindred from being preſent at it, but being informed how matters ſtood, goes thither and drinks to the King, Queen and Ambaſſadors of* Denmark *to their great content*, p. 166. *cauſeth their diſpatch to be ready according to promiſe*, ibid. *Sends to the Earl of* Arran *for a great Gold Chain which he got from Sir* James Balfour, *to preſent it to the Three Ambaſſadors, which was done accordingly*, ibid. *Sends to agree with the Baniſhed Lords at their coming to* Sterling, *p.* 169. *Where it was agreed his Majeſty ſhould be in their hands, and no rigour uſed to thoſe about him*, ibid. *Calls them Traytors at firſt, but after grants them a Pardon*, ibid. *Acknowledgeth the Earl of* Arran *to have been a bad Miniſter of State, and that he ſhould never be readmitted to Court, p.* 170. *Hears the news of his Mothers Execution, which highly diſpleas'd him*, p. 173. *Convenes a Parliament deſiring the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects*, ibid. *When he at firſt hears they were about the Conviction of his Mother, he ſent Two Ambaſſadors on her behalf*, ibid. *Sends for the Author to prepare him to go Ambaſſador to* England, *ibid. Goes to the Weſtern Borders to reform ſome diſorders between the* Maxwels *and* Johnſtouns, *p.* 175. *Reſolves to wait an opportunity to revenge his Mothers Death, rather than trouble the Peace of the Kingdom of* England, *ibid. Is Courted in Marriage by many great Princes*, p. 177. *Asks Council of God by Prayer Fifteeen days, and then reſolves to Marry the King of* Denmark'*s Daughter*; ibid. *Makes choice*

choice of the Author to go Ambaſſadour to Denmark, *ibid. Perſwades him to undertake that Embaſſy*, p. 178. *Conſents that his Brother, the Lord* Yungland *ſhould be joyned in Commiſſion with him, and gives him Commiſſion by word of mouth*, ibid. *Is angry with the Author*, p. 179. *Is adviſed to ſend to Queen* Elizabeth *to deſire her Conſent to his Marriage with* Denmark, *ibid. Her Anſwer thereunto*, ibid. *Is incenſed with his Council for Voting againſt that Marriage*, ibid. *Deals privately with thoſe at* Edinburgh, *to threaten the Council and Chancellor, menacing him with Death, if that Marriage was hindred, upon which he ſends the Earl Marſhal with 2 other Perſons to* Denmark, *ibid. Hears of their being at Sea with the Queen, and makes preparation for her Reception, and being impatient at their long delay, lays the fault on his Council*, p. 180. *Directs Colonel* Stuart *to Sir* Robert Melvil *and the Author, charging them to take care of his Eſtate in his abſence*, p. 180, *and* 181. *Is perſwaded to go in perſon to* Denmark, *p.* 181. *Sails to* Denmark *in perſon to fetch the Queen, and leaves Sir* Robert *Vice-Chancellor*, ibid. *Three Ships went with him beſides his own, he lands at* Norway, *where the Queen waited for a Wind, and their Celebrates the Marriage*, ibid. *Returns not that Winter, is ſent for to* Denmark, *whither he went by Land with his new Queen, where he behaves himſelf liberally and honourably by the way, and at the Court of* Denmark, *ibid. Is much troubled to make thoſe Officers of State agree that were with him there*, p. 182. *Returns the next Spring with the Admiral of* Denmark *and other Perſons of Quality*, ibid. *Treats them all honourably, and after the Queens Coronation diſmiſſeth them Magnificently Rewarded*, ibid. *Sends for the Author at his Landing*, ibid. *Repents his anger with Sir* Robert Melvil, *and turns it againſt the Chancellor, who incenſed him againſt Sir* Robert, *p.* 183. *Rewards the Strangers nobly after the Queens Coronation and Banqueting to their great ſatisfaction*, p. 184. *Deſires Sir* Robert Melvil *and the Author to adviſe upon ſome good Rules for the eſtabliſhing Affairs before his going to* Denmark, *p.* 185. *Is abuſed upon the account of* Maclean *and other* Highlanders, *p.* 192, *and* 193. *Sends for* Melvil *the Author to wait upon the Queen, promiſing him rewards*, p. 193, *takes occaſion at Table to diſcourſe advantageouſly of the Author to his Queen*, p. 193, *and* 194. *Secures himſelf in* Edinburgh *after* Bothwel's *Attempt on the Palace*, p. 197. *Thinks Sir* Robert Melvil *not fit for his Office, yet continues him still*, p. 199. *Is deſign'd to be ſeized at* Falkland *by* Bothwel *and his Party*, p. 201. *And miraculouſly delivered by God from that Conſpiracy*, p. 202. *Determines to ſend Ambaſſadors to* England, Denmark, France *and* Flanders *about the Birth of his Son Prince* Henry, *p.* 203. *Requiring them to ſend Ambaſſadors to ſolemnize the Baptiſm of the firſt born Son*, ibid. *The Ambaſſadors are ſent*, p. 203.

Jane Kennedie, *the Wife of Sir* Andrew Melvil *was a long time in* England *with his Majeſties Mother*, p. 180. *Is Sent for by him to wait upon the young Queen, who making haſt, was drowned in the Paſſage-Boat in a great Storm, which was raiſed by the Witches of* Scotland, *as appears by their own Confeſſion to his Majeſty*, ibid.

John de Monluck, *Biſhop of* Valence, *is ſent Ambaſſador from* France *to the Queen-Mother of* Scotland, *p.* 8. *Goes firſt to* Ireland *by his Maſters Command, and why*, ibid. *A pleaſant ſtory of his Harlot*, ibid. *Was formerly Ambaſſador from the* French *King, to the great* Turk Solyman,

Solyman, *p.* 9. *After his Arrival at* Paris *is ſent to* Rome, *p.* 10. *And wherefore*, p. 10, 11, 12, *and* 13. *But to no effect*, p. 11. *Learns the Methematicks of* Cavatius *& other Sciences by* Taggot *another knowing Man*, p. 13.

K

KEer Henry, *one of the Counſellors of the Duke of* Lennox, *p.* 128.

Keeth *Sir* William, *is ſent Ambaſſador to* Flanders, *upon the Birth of Prince* Henry, *p.* 203.

Kieth Andrew *Lord, is ſent Ambaſſador with the Earl of Marſhal to* Denmark, *at the requeſt of the ſaid Earl*, p. 179.

Killegrew Henry, *is ſent Ambaſſador from* England *to* Scotland, *p.* 68. *Complains againſt Mr.* Raxby *as a Rebel and Papiſt harboured there*, ibid. *Upon which he was ſecured*, p. 69. *Is diſpatch't with a friendly Anſwer ſome time after*, p. 72. *He carries two Letters from Queen* Mary *to Sir* Robert Melvil *in* England, *and to what intent*, p. 72, 73, *and* 74. *Is haſted Ambaſſador to* Scotland *after Mr.* Randolphs *return to* England, *p.* 115. *Deſires the preſervation of Sir* Robert Melvil's *Life as a reward for his labour*, p. 122.

King of Denmark *marrieth his eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of* Brunſwick, *p.* 177. *Excuſeth to King* James, *laying the blame upon his Miniſters*, ibid. *But promiſeth to diſpoſe of his Second Daughter to him, if he would ſend his ambaſſadors thither, but in the interim dies, leaving the ſame Commiſſion with the Council and Regents*, ibid.

King of Navarre, *is Governour for the time of the young* French *King*, Charles *the* 9th, *p.* 30. *Procures of the Three Eſtates aſſembled at* Orleans, *that the Queen-Mother ſhould be Regent of the Realm*, ibid.

King of Spain *enters the Frontiers of* France *with a great Army, p.* 20.

Kings of Scotland *never grew rich ſince they left the* High-Lands *to dwell in the* Low-Lands, *p.* 193. *But ever ſince diminiſhed, which his Majeſty found true*, ibid.

Knolls *Sir* Henry, *is ſent Ambaſſador from Queen* Elizabeth *at the Dyet Imperial held at* Franckfort, Anno 1562, *p.* 39.

L

LEiceſter *Earl, Queen* Mary's *avowed Friend*, p. 71. *And ſeveral other Perſons of Quality*, ibid.

Lennox *Duke, endeavours to free the King of* Scots, *but is chaſed into the Houſe of* Ruthven, *and ſaved by the interceſſion of the Earl of* Gaury, *p.* 132. *Retires to* Dumbartoun, *ibid. Afterward goes to* France *and dies*, p. 133.

Lennox *Earl, is ſent for to be made Regent of* Scotland, *in the room of the Earl of* Murray, *p.* 104. *Proves a true* Scotſman, *p.* 106. *after he had accepted of the Regency, he takes* Breechin, *and hangs the Soldiers found in the Kirk and Steeple*, p. 107. *Is ſhot in the Back in the Enterpriſe of taking the Lords Priſoners at* Sterling, *p.* 114. *Dies in few days after, and makes a godly end*, ibid.

Lennox *Lady, the Mother of* Darnly *King of* Scotland, *is Committed to the Tower and kept there a long time, becauſe he Married the Queen of* Scots *without Queen* Elizabeth's *advice*, p. 58.

Lidingtoun, *Secretary to Queen* Mary, *and of great Credit with Secretary* Cecil, *p.* 32. *He with the Prior of St.* Andrews *procures a fair Correſpondence between the 2 Queens of* England *and* Scotland, *ibid. And* p. 33. *He retires with other perſons, being in danger of their lives*, p. 65.

p. 65. *Goes from Court, p.* 100. *Is accuſed of the late King's murther, and impriſoned,*, ibid. *Is brought by the Regent to* Edinburgh, *and delivered to the Lord* Grange *to be a Priſoner*, ibid. *Is ſet at liberty by the King's Lords*, p. 105. *Taken Priſoner after the ſurrender of* Edinburgh *Caſtle*, p. 121. *dies at* Lieth *to prevent his coming to the Shambles with the reſt*, p. 122.

Logie, *a young man, Gentleman of the Chamber to King* James, *p.* 198. *Is Accuſed and impriſoned for dealing with Earl* Bothwel, *ibid.*

Lords (*called the Queen's Lords, as the other the King's*) *meet together at* Dumbartoun *to procure their Soveraign's liberty, being againſt the King's Lords*, p. 88. *Binding themſelves in a Bond*, ibid. *They iſſue out Proclamation on both ſides to Convene their friends*, p. 90. *Meet and fight, but the Queen's Lords are Routed*, p. 91. *The King's Lords ſend for the Earl of* Lennox, *to make him Regent in the room of* Murray, *p.* 104. *They hold a Parliament at* Sterling, *and the Queen's at* Edinburgh, p. 113. *Lords all written and unwritten for arrive at St.* Andrew's, *to attend the Convention intended there by the King*, p. 136. *Deſign to have the King in cuſtody*, ibid. *Lords met at* Edinburgh, *paſs a Vote unanimouſly ; being preoccupied by the Earl of* Arran, *p.* 153. *Thoſe Lords who deſigned the attempt on* Sterling *fly to* England, *p.* 157. *Are forefaulted, p.* 158. *They return and come to the Borders with Aſſiſtance*, *p.* 168. 3000 *of the baniſhed Lords enter* Sterling, *fall on their knees, and beg his Majeſty's pardon*, p. 169. *Which is granted*, ibid. *The Lords gain great credit by their moderate behaviour*, p. 170.

Lorrain *Cardinal, deſigns to promote Queen* Mary *to the Crown of* England, *by alledging Queen* Elizabeth *to be Illegitimate*, p. 32. *Cauſeth all Queen* Mary's *Silver Veſſels to be engraven with the Arms of* England, *ibid. After the concluſion of Peace is ſent Ambaſſador to* Spain *to take that King's Oath, and to ſwear for his Maſter's obſerving the ſame*, ibid. *Propoſeth two Matches to the Emperor of* Germany, *p.* 33.

M

MAcclean *and others, chief of the* Highlands *is ſubtilly brought to Court by the Chancellour*, p. 192. *Are impriſoned in* Edinburgh *Caſtle, accuſed of foul murther, but get off*, ibid.

Maitland *Secretary, is confin'd to his houſe with others*, p. 166. *Oppoſeth the Author in Council*, p. 171.

Mar *Earl, keeps the young Prince, and will not deliver him to* Bothwel, *p.* 80. *Is made Regent in the room of* Lennox, *p.* 111. *Goes to* Edinburgh *to Convene the Lords in order to an Accommodation*, *p.* 118. *In the mean time goes to* Dalkieth, *and ſhortly after dies at* Sterling, *ibid.*

Margil David, *one of the Duke of* Lennox *his Chancellors, p.* 128.

Marſhal *of* Berwick *beſiegeth* Edinburgh *aſſiſted by an* Engliſh *Army, and all* Scotland, *p.* 120. *Contends with the Ambaſſadour*, p. 121. *Is forced to deliver up the Priſoners in* Edinburgh *Caſtle to the* Regent, *being commanded by the Queen of* England *to do it*, ibid. *Which he doth with much regret, and returns to* Berwick *diſcontented*, ibid. *The Laird of* Cleech *having before offered them good Conditions to quit the Caſtle*, ibid. *Takes the Death of the Laird of* Grange *very much to the heart, by reaſon of the breach of his promiſe, and thereupon quits his Employment of Marſhal ; whoſe loſs is much lamen-*

ted, being a worthy Captain, ibid.

Marſhal Earl, and others, lodge within the Caſtle with his Majeſty of Scotland, p. 136. He and others retire to their houſes, p. 137. Deſires to ſupply the place of the Lord Atry as Ambaſſadour to Denmark, p. 178. Which is granted, ibid. But his Commiſſion is ſo ſlender that he ſends the Lord Dingual for a Licenſe to return, or a power to conclude the Match with Denmark, ibid. Which he receives, and is preſently diſpatcht for Scotland by the Regent and Council, and the Qeen ſent home with him well attended, p. 180. But are driven by Tempeſt upon the Coaſt of Norway, the winds being raiſed by the Witches of Denmark, and the reaſon why, ibid. Is not well thought of by the King upon the account of his Embaſſy to Denmark, occaſioned by the Chancellour's miſrepreſentation of him to his Majeſty, p. 182.

Martland is made Chancellour in Scotland, p. 175. Threatned to be kill'd, p. 179. Hears of his Majeſties diſcontent at the Queens delay of coming from Denmark, and adviſeth him to ſail thither in perſon to fetch her home, p. 181. Who goes with him privately, ibid. Being at Denmark, he deviſeth many Reformations to be made at his Majeſties return, p. 182. Cauſeth the Lord Hume, Earl Bothwel, and divers others to be impriſoned for their diſobedience, during the abſence of the King, ibid. Miſrepreſents Sir Robert Melvil, and envies him, though a great friend to his promotion, ibid. Emulation between the Council and him, who deſign to turn him out, p. 183. But prevents it being diſcovered, ibid. Great hatred between him and the Duke of Lennox, p. 198. He retires to his own Houſe, and is accuſed of ſeveral Crimes, ibid. Procures again his Majeſties favour, and is re-introduced at Court, p. 200. And at length reconciled to the Queen, ibid.

Mary Queen of Scotland, the only Child left of King James the 5th. p. 7. Born when he lay on his death-bed, p. 7. After her Arrival in France great diſputes ariſe about her Marriage between the two Factions in France, but is at laſt wedded to the Dauphin, p. 8. Proves a ſorrowful Widdow after the Death of her Husband, p. 30. By degrees leaves the Court upon diſlike, ibid. Occaſion'd by the Queen-Mother's rigorous dealing with her, p. 31. Is adviſed to return to Scotland, and behave her ſelf moderately, ibid. At length arrives in her own Country, p. 32. Seems to approve of the Match propoſed by Cardinal Lorrain, between her and the Arch-Duke of Auſtria, ibid. Advertiſeth the Queen of England of this propoſal, deſiring her advice, p. 40. Which ſhe Anſwers by Mr. Randolph, ibid. and p. 41. Lays aſide the thoughts of that Match, p. 43. And the Reaſons why, ibid. Behaves her ſelf very diſcreetly, and gains great reputation in all Countries, p. 53. Her Character, p. 54. Is much taken with the Lord Darnly, p. 56. Determines to marry him tho oppoſed by ſeveral Lords, ibid. And is married to him accordingly, p. 57. Is kept Priſoner by Douglas and his Party upon the Murther of Rixio, p. 65. Cauſeth the King to adviſe them to withdraw the Guards they had upon her, ibid. So they went all to their home, but the Queen, King, and ſome in their Retinue went at midnight to Dunbar, p. 66. Subſcribes Remiſſions for the Lord Murray and his Dependers, lamenting the young King's folly, ibid. Goes to Sterling to Ly In, her time approaching, p. 67. She miſlikes the King, who grows melancholick thereupon, ibid. She is much troubled at that foul fact committed in her preſence, by killing

ling her Servant Rixio *to the endangering of her ſelf, and the Child in her Womb*, p. 74. *Keeps her Chamber ſometime after the murther of her Husband* Darnly, *p.* 78. *She wonders at the reports of her marriage with* Bothwel, *but denies it*, ibid. *Is forced to marry him, the Nobility approving it, and he having firſt Raviſhed her*, p. 80. *Is married by* Adam Bothwel, *after the Reformed Religion*, ibid. *Reſigns her ſelf to the Lord of* Grange, *and conveyed to* Edinburgh, *p.* 83. *where ſhe is reſpected by the Nobles, but reviled by the vulgar*, ibid. *Writes a Letter, wherein ſhe calls* Bothwel *her dear heart, promiſing never to forſake him*, p. 84. *Which being brought to the Lords by the Treachery of one of her Keepers, they ſent her to be ſecured in* Lockleven, *ibid. Upon the Lord* Lindſay's *coming ſhe ſubſcribed to the Demiſſion of the Government to the Prince, and certain Lords named as Regents*, p. 85. *Is conveyed from* Lockleven *to* Hamiltoun, p. 90. *After the loſs of the Battle of* Langſide, *ſhe quite loſeth her courage, never thinks herſelf ſecure till ſhe arrives in* England, *p.* 92. *Is kept Priſoner in the North parts here*, p. 99. *Endeavours to get her ſelf declared ſecond Perſon of* England, *p.* 152. *but it proves ineffectual*, ibid *Receives warning of her death for the Council the night before*, p. 172. *Her carriage and deportment thereupon*, ibid. *Takes her death patiently, and dies couragiouſly*, p. 173. *Receives divers Strokes with the Ax through the Executioner's cruelty*, ibid.

Maſter *of* Glams *is Treaſurer of* Scotland, *p.* 198. *Deſigns to get the Office from Sir* Robert Melvil, *and manage the Treaſury ſolely*, ibid.

Maſter *of* Gray *is in great favour with the King of* Scots, *and why*, p. 158. *His Character*, ibid. *Is ſent Ambaſſador to* England, *and returns with great Credit and Approbation, notwithſtanding he is miſrepreſented by the Earl of* Arran, *whom he begins by degrees to Eclipſe*, ibid. *Acquaints his Majeſty that Mr.* Watton, *a Man of great Parts, is upon his journy from the Queen of* England, *and upon what account*, p. 158, & 159. *Procures the Earl of* Arran's *liberty*, p. 166. *Is rewarded for it with the Abby of* Dumfarmling, ibid. *At which the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadour is enraged, but afterward reconciled to him*, ibid. *He retires to* Dunkel, *p.* 168. *Is ſent for again to Court, p.* 169. *And in as great favour as ever*, ibid. *Is deprived of his Benefice of* Dumfarmling, p. 175. *And diſcharged from the Court*, ibid.

Maurice *Duke, God-ſon to the Landgrave of* Heſſe, *p.* 11. *perſwades his God-Father to come to the Emperor, who retains him Captive*, ibid. *Is Couſin to the Duke of* Saxony, *and obtains the Electorate as a gift from the Emperor*, p. 12. *Sollicits the Emperor for the liberty of his God-father, but in vain*, ibid. *Lays Siege to* Magdeburgh, *being the Emperor's Lieutenant*, ibid. *A ſubtile man*, ibid. *Surpriſeth the Emperor at* Isburgh, *compels him to fly ſo clearly out of* Dutchland, *that he never ſet foot in it again*, p. 13. *Yet he and the Emperor is after reconciled, and lay Siege to the Town of* Metz, *tho to no purpoſe*, ibid.

Maximilian, *King of the* Romans, *by his politick carriage between Proteſtant and Catholick obtains the Empire*, p. 33. *Is skill'd in ſeveral Languages*, p. 34. *Proves an enemy to the Match with his Brother* Charles, *the Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *and the Queen of* Scots, *though ſeemingly a friend*, p. 35.

Melvil *Sir* Andrew, *one of the undertakers to keep the Caſtle of* Edinburgh *p.* 120. *Is Maſter of the Houſhold to Queen* Elizabeth, *p.* 173. *After Maſter of the Houſhold to King* James, *p.* 180. *Marries* Jane Kennedy, *who had been a long time in* England *with Queen* Mary, *ibid.*

Melvil *Sir* James, *the Author and Brother to Sir* Andrew Melvil, *is ſent by the Queen-Mother with the Biſhop of* Valence *to be Page of Honour to her Daughter there Married to the Dauphin,* p. 8. *The kindneſs of* Odocart's *Daughter to him, promiſing him Marriage,* p. 9. *His pleaſant diſcovery of the two* Scotſmens *Deceit, to whoſe care he was committed in their Journey to* Paris *p.* 10. *Is deſign'd to be promoted by the Biſhop, but prevented and by what means,* p. 14. *Is entertain'd in the Service of the Conſtable of* France, *by the conſent of the Biſhop of* Valence, *p.* 15. *Is commiſſionated by the* French *King, and afterward by the Conſtable to go into* Scotland, *and the purport of his Commiſſion,* p. 25. *and* 26. *Endeavours to be inform'd of the Prior of St.* Andrews *intentions who declares his mind to him at large,* p. 27. *In his return to* France *meets with an* Engliſh *Mathematician, and the Diſcourſe between them,* p. 27. *and* 28. *Gets licence of the Queen of* France *to Travel, the reaſon thereof, he takes his leave,* p. 29. *Is recommended to the Elector Palatine by the Conſtable his Maſter, and entertain'd as one of his Servants,* ibid. *And is thereupon ſent by the Elector to Condole the death of* Francis *the* 2d. French *King,* ibid. *Receives great Favour from the King of* Navarre *and Queen Regent, diſpatching him back with thanks and a gift,* p. 30. *Returns, viſits the Queen of* Scotland, Mary, *in her return home at* Janvile, *with a comfortable Letter from Duke* Caſimire, *p.* 31. *Receives thanks from the Queen for it with favourable offers when return'd from Travel,* ibid. *Is deſired by the Duke and his Father to go into* England *about a Match with the Queen and the Duke, but refuſeth,* p. 32. *And why,* ibid. *Receives a Letter from* Scotland *to inquire about the Arch Duke of* Auſtria, *p.* 33. *Is ſent for by* Maximilian, *and goes with a Letter from the Elector to him,* p. 34. *The paſſages between them,* ibid. *Finds the propoſition of a Match with the Arch-Duke would prove ineffectual, and therefore preſſeth for a diſpatch, which at length he obtains,* p. 35. *Receives a Letter from* Maximilian *to the Queen of* Scots, ibid. *Is ſent by the Prince Elector to the Queen-Mother of* France, *with an Anſwer and Picture to her propoſitions of a Match between her Son* Charles *the* 9th, *and* Maximian's *eldeſt Daughter,* p. 36. *Is introduced into her Preſence by the Conſtable,* ibid. *Is profer'd very large offers of Preferment by the Queen Mother, if he would reſide there,* p. 33. *Receives Letters from Queen* Mary *to retrrn home,* ibid. *Parts with a Commiſſion to the Queen of* England, p. 39. *Preſents the Pictures of* Caſimire *and his Relations to the Queen,* ibid. *Which ſhe returns next day,* p. 40. *Refuſing to accept of them,* ibid. *Writes back to his Father, and himſelf a diſſwaſive from that Marriage and receives thanks,* ibid. *Returns into* Scotland *and preſents the Queen with Letters from Forraign Princes,* p. 43. *Receives great proffers from the Queen, but refuſeth them, and upon what ground,* ibid. *Is ſent with inſtructions to Queen* Elizabeth *and her Friends to procure a Reconciliation,* ibid. *The inſtructions at large,* p. *the* 44th. *and* 45th. *Being Arrived at* London, *he next morning receives his Anſwer from the Queen,* p. 46. *Perſwades her Majeſty to tear the Angry Letter ſhe* *intend to ſend to Queen* Mary *in anſwer to hers*, p. 47. *Which ſhe did*, ibid. *The private Conference between the Queen of* England *and* Melvil, *being a Character of the Two Queens full of diverſion*, p. 47,48, *and* 49. *Takes his leave and returns to* Scotland *with many Preſents*, p. 52. *Acquaints his Queen with Queen* Elizabeth's *Anſwer*, ibid. *After the Queens Marriage begs leave to Travel, which ſhe refuſeth*, p. 58. *Upon her promiſes ſtayes and adviſeth her*, p. 59. *Officiates as her Secretary*, Lidington *being abſent upon ſome ſuſpicion*, p. 67. *Rides Poſt to* London *to give an account to the Queen of the Birth of a Son in* Scotland, *p.* 69. *Has a ſatisfactory Audience*, p. 70. *Shews a Letter to her Majeſty from* Tho. *Biſhop againſt her Marriage with* Bothwel, *and is forced to fly for it*, p. 79. *But returns*, Bothwel's *rage being allayed*, ibid. *Is afterward taken Priſoner when* Bothwel *ſeized the Queen*, p. 80 *Refuſeth at firſt to be ſent Commiſſioner by the Lords who concluded to Crown the Prince, to the Lords Aſſembled at* Hamiltoun, *but at laſt accepts*, p. 85. *Declares their Anſwer at* Sterling, *p.* 86. *Is ſent to meet the Lord* Murray *at* Berwick *upon his return from* France, *to adviſe him*, p. 87. *Is ſent by another Party with contrary Inſtructions*, ibid. *Deviſeth with others a remedy for his preſervation and brings into a good opinion with the People*, p. 102. *Is ſent to* Berwick *to the Earl of* Suſſex, *and why*, p. 105. *Receives an Anſwer*, ibid. *Viſits the Regent the Earl of* Lennox *there*, p. 106. *Diſſwades him from the Regency as dangerous*, ibid. *Is taken Priſoner by the Earl of* Bughan, p. 111. *Whom the Laird* Grange *would have releaſed by force but he diſapproves of it*, ibid. *Finds Bail to ſerve his Majeſty and the Regent, and is diſcharged*, p. 112. *Is ſent by the Regent* Marr *to* Edinburgh *to make an Accommodation between them and him*, p. 117. *Which they were all inclinable to*, ibid. *And after* Marr's *death by the Regent* Mortoun, *p.* 118. *Proferreth himſelf a Pledge that the Caſtle of* Edinburgh *ſhould be delivered by the Laird* Grange *to the Regent*, p. 119. *Loſeth the Regents favour by telling his faults freely*, p. 124. *Is ordained to hold the Juſtice-Eyre of Weſt* Lauthian *with other perſons at* Edinburgh, p. 131. *Is ſent for by his Majeſty*, p. 133. *Goes to wait upon him, though reſolved to lead a contemplative life*, ibid. *Diſcourſeth with his Majeſty about the State of all Countries.* p. 134. *Prevailes with the Biſhop of St.* Andrews *to entertain his Majeſty in the Caſtle*, p. 135. *Adviſeth him to go into the Caſtle for his ſecurity, p.* 136. *Is acknowledged by his Majeſty to be the ſole Procurer of his liberty*, p. 137. *His Council is much depended upon by the King*, p. 138. *Is made one of his Council*, ibid. *Opposeth the Earl of* Arran's *new invented Proclamation in the Council-Houſe*, p. 139. *Is made Gentleman of his Chamber, and a member of the Privy Council*, p. 142. *Is writ to by his Majeſty to attend him, and obeys*, p. 143. *Takes a long Letter with him to put him in mind of his Promiſes, the Contents thereof*, p. 143, 144, 145, *and* 146. *Arrives at* Sterling *and diſſwades his Majeſty from ſending Ambaſſadors to* England *for that preſent*, p. 146. *Which his Majeſty condeſcends to and he retires*, ibid. *Is ſent for again to conduct Secretary* Walſingham *to his Audience*, p. 147. *Is appointed with four more to endeavour the underſtanding his intentions*, p. 147. *and* 148. *Refuſeth the Office of Secretary offered him*, p. 149. *Is deprived of all employment by the Earl of* Arran's *means, though contrary to his Majeſties promiſe*, p. 150. *Yet is ordered*

ordered to prepare for an Embaſſy to England, *and Pens the Speech he intends to pronounce to the Queen,* ibid. *The Contents,* p. 150, 151, *and* 152. *A large Conference is held between King* James *and him about his Affairs,* p. 153, *and* 154. *Is left by his Majeſties manager.* p. 154. *He entertains a ſmart diſcourſe with the Earl of* Arran, *p.* 155. *Is reſolv'd upon that account to attend no longer then the end of the Convention,* ibid. *Is ſent for by his Majeſty, and graciouſly receiv'd,* p. 157. *Conducts* Daviſon *the* Engliſh *Agent to his Audience at* Falkland, *ibid. Adviſeth his Majeſty that* Daviſon *endeavours the diſturbance of that Kingdom,* p. 158. *Is ſent for to entertain Mr.* Wotton, *p.* 159. *Gives an account of his carriage and deſigns in* France *at the age of* 21, *p,* 159, 160, *and* 161. *Gives his Majeſty caution to be wary of him, but is not taken notice of,* p. 161. *Is appointed with Two more to entertain the three* Daniſh *Ambaſſadors,* p. 162. *Pacifies the firſt of the* 3 *with diſcourſe for Indignities offered them,* p. 163, *and* 164. *Gives an account of the King of* Denmark's *Genealogy,* p. 165. *Which undeceives the King of* Scotland *and ſatisfies him,* ibid. *Goes on Board of the Ambaſſadors from* Denmark, *being upon their departure, with Preſents,* p. 167. *Takes leave of them, rewards the Officers, declaring the particulars to his Majeſty,* ibid. *Shifts off his going Ambaſſador to* Denmark, *ibid. Is ſent for to Court,* p. 168. *Is ſent upon a framed Errand to* Dunkel *and his Commiſſion,* p. 168, *and* 169. *At his return forewarns his Majeſty of what would follow the Earl of* Arran's *raſh proceedings,* p. 170. *Is for and Act of Oblivion and reſtoring the Baniſhed Lords, but Oppoſed,* p. 171. *Is ſent for to go to* England *to confirm the League with Queen* Elizabeth, *p.* 173. *But endeavours to avoid it,* ibid. *Is diſcharged of that Embaſſy,* p. 174. *And deſign'd Ambaſſador to* Spain, *p.* 175. *but has no deſire for that Voyage,* ibid. *Is nominated to go to* Denmark, *which he likewiſe declines,* p. 176. *Is deſired by* Du Bartas *the* French *Poet to go with a Commiſſion to the King of* Navarre, *p.* 177. *But refuſeth it,* ibid. *Seeing no preparations for his diſpatch to* Denmark, *he obtains licence and prepares himſelf for the next Order,* p. 179. *Is ſent for by his Majeſty at his landing in* Scotland, *p.* 182. *Is Commanded to attend the Earl of* Worceſter *Ambaſſador from* England, *ſent to Congratulate both their Majeſties at their Arrival,* ibid. *Is acquainted with his Majeſties proceedings in his Voyage,* p. 112, *and* 183. *He and Sir* Robert Melvil *ſet down ſome Rules for the management of his Affairs by his order, from* p. 185, *to* p. 192. *Is ſent for to* Falkland *and acquaint him that he is deſign'd to wait upon the young Queen,* p. 193. *Which he did ſeveral years,* p. 194. *He and his Brother Sir* Robert *advertiſed his Majeſty of a deſign againſt him by* Bothwel *and his Complices,* p. 197. *Which was ſlighted,* ibid. *Is one of the Privy Council and Gentleman of her Majeſties Chamber,* p. 198. *Is appointed with others to entertain Ambaſſadors from Foraign Parts upon the Birth of Prince* Henry, *p.* 203. *Is alſo appointed to attend the Two Ambaſſadors from* Denmark *about the performance of the Contract of Marriage,* p. 204.

Melvil *Sir* Robert, *is ſent Ambaſſador in Ordinary into* England *by Queen* Mary, *p.* 63. *And upon what account,* ibid. *Is taken Priſoner with others after the Surrender of* Edinburgh *Caſtle,* p. 121. *Is made one of the King's Council,* p. 138. *Gets intelligence of the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors deſigns againſt King* James, *p.* 167. *Acquaints his Majeſty therewith*

with, ibid. *Offers by Combat to juſtifie it,* p. 168. *But is prevented by his Majeſty,* ibid. *Is ſent Ambaſſadour with another to treat about the Accuſation of the Queen of* Scots, *p.* 173. *Speaks boldly, and had been detained Priſoner but for the intereſt of the Maſter of* Gray *in* England, *ibid. Is left Vice-Chancellor of* Scotland, *during his Majeſties abſence at* Denmark, *p.* 181. *Though calumniated and threatned to be impriſoned, and have his Office taken through the Chancellour's means,* p. 183. *Gives his Majeſty notice of* Bothwel's *deſign againſt him,* p. 197. *Is made Deputy-Treaſurer,* p. 198. *Is threatned with death by the Captain of the Guards,* p. 199. *But the Queen ſtood his Friend,* ibid. *Sends his Servant to acquaint the King with* Bothwel's *Conſpiracy againſt him in* Falkland, *for which he is derided,* p. 202. *Sir* Robert *is ſent Ambaſſadour to* England *from King* James, *p.* 204.

Mortoun *Earl, is challenged to fight by Lord* Herreis *upon the account of the Kings death,* p. 100. *Appoints four men to kill* Grange *at the entrance of the Regent's Lodgings, without the Regents privity,* p. 101. *Has a great Faction in the Country, though diſappointed of the Regency,* p. 116. *But is made Regent after the deceaſe of the Earl of* Mar *by the aſſiſtance of* England, *p.* 118. *Promiſeth to the Agreement with the Lords of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *but ſteers another courſe,* p 120. *Anticipates the Marſhal of* Berwick, *and gets an Anſwer from the Queen of* England *to have the Priſoners taken at* Edinburgh *Caſtle, and a Commiſſion for their Execution, before he could ſend,* p. 121. *Triumphs a while, being with great Aſſiſtance from* England, *p.* 123. *His whole ſtudy is to gain riches from* England *and* Scotland, *p.* 123. *Of which* England *too late repented,* ibid. *Holds the Country in a more ſetled Eſtate then it had been in for many years,* p 124. *Grows proud, diſpiſeth the Nobility, commits ſeveral wrongs, and proſecutes ſeveral Lords,* ibid. *expoſeth the Earl of* Orkny *to great hardſhip,* p. 126. *Yields eaſily to his depoſition from the Regency, retiring to* Lockleven, *ibid. But by his deſigns gets in again to be Maſter of the Court,* ibid. *Is Accuſed by* James Stuart *of the late King's Murther,* p. 127. *Is condemned at the Aſſize for it,* 128. *And dies reſolutely,* ibid.

Murray *Earl, takes part with* Bothwel, *p.* 201. *And is kill'd at his own Houſe.*

Murray *Lord, and* Bedford *meet at* Berwick *about the marriage of Queen* Mary *with* Leiceſter, *p.* 53. *with ſlenderer offers then expected from him,* ibid.

Murray *being one of the baniſhed Lords is ſent for from* Newcaſtle, *and re-entertain'd by the Queen,* p. 65. *Retires from Court,* p. 78. *Obtains leave to go to* France *before the Queen married* Bothwel, *p.* 80. *Is appointed by the Queen firſt Regent of the young Prince,* p. 85. *Whereupon he is ſent for from* France *by the Lords,* ibid. *Accepts the Regency of the Prince, after a Refuſal,* p. 87. *Enters at firſt ſight upon ſuch injurious Reproaches of her Majeſty, as were like to break her heart,* ibid. *Takes the Forts and Caſtles into his hands,* p. 90. *Clears the Borders of Thieves, and holds Juſtice in Eyre,* ibid. *Goes to* England, *accompanied with many Lords, to accuſe Queen* Mary, *p.* 93. *Is privately diſſuaded from it by the Duke of* Norfolk, *p.* 94, *and* 95. *'Tis agreed that he ſhall by no means proceed in that Accuſation,* p. 95. *Breaks his word with the Duke, and comes from the Council-Houſe with Tears in his Eyes,* p. 97. *Is deſpi-*

ſed by the Queen of England for his intention to Accuſe her, deteſted by the Duke, reproached by his Friends, living at Kingſton penyleſs and unregarded, p. 97. Is reconciled to the Duke, p. 98. Has 2000 l. of the Queen, for which the Duke becomes ſurety, and afterward paid it, 99. Takes leave of the Queen, but diſcovers again all that ever paſt between the Duke and himſelf, p. 99. Promiſing to ſend the Queen thoſe Letters he ſhould receive in Scotland from him, ibid. Sends for Secretary Lidingtoun, as being of Council with the Duke of Norfolk, reſolving to accuſe him, and writes for him to come to make a diſpatch for England, p. 100. Being come is Accuſed before the Privy Council of the late King's Murder, and Impriſoned, ibid. Is miſled, though well inclined, by vain pretences to his own and the ruine of others, p. 102. Gives ear to flatterers, ibid. Diſſembles with Grange and Lidingtoun, ibid. His Character, p. 103. Is ſhot by Hamiltoun, and dies the ſame night, ibid.

N

NOrfolk Duke, ſent with an Army out of England to help the Congregationiſts, p. 29. He and ſeveral other Councellors ſent down to York to hear the Regent's Accuſation of his Queen, and be Judges thereof, p. 94. Privately diſſuades the Regent from Accuſing the Queen for the King her Son's ſake, p. 95. Is the greateſt Subject in Europe, not being a free-born Prince, p. 96. Ruling the Queen and all, ibid. His purpoſes diſcovered to the Queen, whereby the Regent loſt the Duke's favour, yet ſpeaks boldly to her Majeſty, p. 98. Is prevailed with to enter into friendſhip again with the Regent, upon promiſe of his future ſecreſie, ibid. Acquaints the Regent with his reſolution to marry the Queen of Scots, and that he had a Daughter fitter for the King then any other, p. 98 and 99. Becomes Security for 2000 l. which Murray the Regent of Scotland received from the Queen of England, which he after paid, p. 99. Is ſent for by the Queen to come to Court (being again deceived by the Regent then in Scotland) applies himſelf to Secretary Cecil, who told him there was no danger, ſo that he rode with his Train only, ibid. Is ſeized by the Treachery of Cecil, and after a tedious Captivity, dies of the Reformed Religion, p. 100.

Normand Leſly, gains great honour in the Wars, between Henry the Second of France, and the Emperour, p. 17.

O

OChilterie Lord, and divers others, in revenge of the death of the Earl of Murray, takes part with Earl Bothwel, p. 201. Adviſeth him to Seize on his Majeſty in his Palace at Falkland, ibid.

Octavians in Scotland, who, and why ſo called, p. 191.

Octavio Duke, Son-in-law to the Emperour Charles the Fifth, is left to the Pope's diſcretion, and why, p. 11.

P

PArliament Proclaimed at Lithgow for the reſtitution of the baniſhed Lords, p. 170.

Parma Duke, Governour of Flanders, wins the hearts of his Soldiers, and Enemies, by his prudent behaviour, p. 166. Is ſuſpected by the Spaniſh King to have a deſign on Flanders, which cauſed him to deny the Spaniard Victuals, Ships, and

landing

landing in his Territories, ibid.

Paul *the fourth, Pope, breaks off the five years Truce between the* French *King and the Emperour*, p. 19.

Peace *concluded between* Scotland *and* England. *and upon what Terms*, p. 30.

Pool *Cardinal, appointed to be Mediator between the two Princes*, p. 16.

Prelates *of* Scotland *endeavour to win King* James *by large proffers and perſwaſion, to their Opinion*, p. 4. *They exaſperate his Majeſty againſt the Treaſurer by their inſinuations*, p. 5. *But he gets well off*, ibid.

Prior *of St.* Andrews, *the Lord* James, *Natural Son to* James *the Fifth, King of* Scotland, p. 25. *Afterwards Earl of* Murray, *p.* 32.

Prior *of* Pittenweem, *a great debaucher of Women and Maidens*. p. 5.

Proteſtants *grown very numerous in* Scotland, *p.* 24.

Q

Queen *Mother of* France *is glad at the death of* Francis *the Second her Son, he being wholly ruled by the Duke of* Guiſe, *and the Cardinal his* Brother, p. 29. *Whereupon ſhe diſchargeth the King of* Navarre *and Prince of* Conde, *who had a Scaffold erected for their Execution*, ibid. *Is made Regent by the Three Eſtates, during the minority of* Charles *the Nineth*, p. 30. *Seems inclinable to the Proteſtant Religion, intending to joyn with the Proteſtant Princes*, ibid. *Makes a Peace after the battle of* Drues, *p.* 36.

Queen *Regent of* Scotland *receives the Government from* Hamiltoun, *p.* 24. *Iſſues out a ſevere Proclamation againſt Proteſtants*, ibid. *Is diſturbed at the diſcourſe of the Prior of St.* Andrew's *and others, and reſolves to perſecute the more*, p. 25. *Sends to* France *about the diſorders in her Country for help*, ibid. *She, during the Controverſie with the Congregation, retires with Monſieur* Doſel *and other* Frenchmen *to* Lieth, *which is fortified expecting* French *ſupplies*, p. 29. *But being indiſpoſed, retires to the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *and dies with regret that ſhe followed the advice of her* French *friends*, ibid.

Queen *of* Scotland *married to King* James *from* Denmark, *is Crowned*, p. 184. *Shews* Melvil *no great countenance at firſt*, p. 194. But *at length ſeems well ſatisfied with his Service*, ibid. *Is offended with the Chancellour for delaying her Marriage with the King of* Scots, p. 198. *Uſually ſpeaks in favour of thoſe Officers that are miſrepreſented to the King*, p. 199. *Is offended with the Chancellour, but reconciled*, p. 200. *Gives the* Engliſh, Daniſh, *and* Dutch *Ambaſſadours Audience*, p. 204.

St. Quintin, *and ſeveral other Towns loſt by the* French *to the* Spaniard, p. 22.

R

Randolph, Thomas, *Queen* Elizabeth's *Agent in* Scotland, *p.* 40. *Denies the Queen of* England *made any promiſes to thoſe who would oppoſe the Marriage of the Queen of* Scots, p. 60. *Is ſent with the Earl of* Lennox *Ambaſſadour unto* Scotland *to ſet him forward with his power*, p. 107. *Is a double dealer, and ſower of Sedition*, ibid. *Glories that he had kindled ſuch a fire in* Scotland *as would not eaſily be extinguiſhed*, p. 109. *Deſigns to have* Mortoun *Regent in the lieu of* Lennox, *but failed*, p. 115. *Returns home, and why*, ibid. *Is ſent again Ambaſſadour to* Scotland, *p.*

127. *Hears that the Author was deſigned to be ſent Ambaſſador into* England *and oppoſeth it, propoſing other perſons in that juncture of time, p.* 173.

Rixio David, *a mean fellow, who came to* Scotland *with the Ambaſſador of* Savoy, *is made Secretary to the Queen of* Scots, *p.* 54. *A Muſician perſwaded to ſing with others, the occaſion of his promotion,* ibid. *Is ſuſpected to be penſioner and Favourite to the Pope, p.* 55. *Is kill'd in the Queens preſence to her great regret; ſhe being with Child, by conſent of the King, p.* 64

Ruſſel *Sir* Francis, *Warden of the* Engliſh *borders, p.* 166. *Is kill'd at a meeting between the two Wardens,* ib.

Ruxbie *ſent to ſiſt what he could get out of* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *as to her right to the Crown of* England, *p.* 68. *Which he is to ſend to Mr. Secretary* Cecil, *p.* 68. *Addreſſeth himſelf to the* Scots *Queen,* ibid. *VVrites to* Cecil *in her prejudice, p.* 69. *Is promiſed a reward but his intrigues are diſcovered and he ſecured,* ibid.

S

Seatoun *Comptroller to King* James *of* Scotland, *p.* 198.

Segie *Lord, made one of the Kings Council,* p. 138. *Choſen to accompany* Melvil *in the entertainment of the* Daniſh *Ambaſſador,* p. 162.

Senarpon Monſieure, *Lieutenant in* Normandy *for the* French *King,* p. 160.

Shaw William, *Maſter of* Wark, *is choſen to accompany* Melvil *in his entertainment of the* Daniſh *Ambaſſadors with the Lord of* Segie, *p.* 162.

Skeen *a Lawyer, choſen to go to* Denmark *with the Author,* p. 178.

Sinclare Oliver, *promiſed by the Clergy to be made Lieutenant of the Army againſt* England, *if King* Henry *the* 8th *ſhould war againſt* Scotland, *p.* 4. *Is proclaimed Lieutenant over the whole Army, yet the Lords diſdaining ſo mean a perſon would not fight under him, but ſuffered themſelves to be taken Priſoners,* p. 6.

Simſon Amy, *a Midwife and VVitch,* p. 194. *Is burnt with others,* p. 195.

Smith *Is made Secretary to Queen* Elizabeth. *p.* 157.

Sommer, *Secretary to the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador in* France, *p.* 160.

Spaniſh *Navy is rumour'd to be bound for* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *p.* 175. *Is three years preparing,* ibid. *The Commanders knew nothing of the Deſign but what they underſtood by the opening of their inſtructions at every landing place,* p. 175 *and* 176. *A violent ſtorm of wind diſſipates the whole Navy, and many of their Veſſels ſuffer'd Shipwrack,* ibid.

Spiny *Lord, and the Maſter of* Glams *at variance,* p. 198. Spiny *is in great favour with his Majeſty,* ibid. *For which he is envied and accuſed as a dealer with* Bothwel, *for which he is diſplaced and impriſoned,* ibid. *But eſcapes out of a window in* Dalkieth *by the help of a* Daniſh *Gentlewoman whom he afterward married,* ibid. *Is in diſfavour with the King,* p. 199.

Spinze *Lord, is Gentleman of the Chamber to King* James, *p.* 198.

Stuart *Colonel, is ſent to* St. Andrews *with Mr.* John Colvil, *p.* 133. *Is made Captain of King* James *his Guards,* p. 137. *Writes to the Author to repair to Court,* p. 156. *Is one of the Kings Council,* p. 138. *Rides to overthrow the Banniſhed Lords at their entry upon the borders,* p. 168. But *his deſign is fruſtrated,* ibid. *Is committed to the care of the Lord* Maxwel, *being in danger for eſpouſing too violently the Earl of* Arran's *Intereſt,* p. 170. *Obtains leave to go to* Denmark *about his own Affairs being that Kings Penſioner,*

Penſioner, p. 171. *Has a Commiſſion to treat about the Marriage of King* James *with the Eldeſt Daughter of the King of* Denmark, *ibid. Goes to* Denmark *ſeveral times at his own charge to complete his Maſters Marriage with the King of* Denmark's *Daughter*, p. 177.

Stuart James, *Son to the Lord* Oghiltrie *a Favourite in* Scotland, p. 126. *Perſwades the King to a Progreſs*, p. 127. *Accuſes the Earl of* Mortoun *of the late Kings Murther*, ibid. *Takes upon himſelf the Title of Earl of* Arran, *p.* 128. *Marries the Earl of* March *his Relict*, ibid. *Caſts off his true friends*, p. 129. *His Character*, p. 131. *Is kept Priſoner by the Lords in the Cuſtody of the Earl of* Gaury, *p.* 133. *Obtains the favour of being confin'd to his own Houſe at* Kinneal, *p.* 137. *adviſeth the King, but is oppoſed by* Gaury, ibid. *Gets acceſs to Court, and ſtays there contrary to promiſe*, ibid. *Is reconciled to Colonel* Stuart *by the Authors means*, p. 139. *He and* Melvil *the Author claſh in Council*, p. 139. *His inſolent carriage*, p. 142. *He and* Gaury *are reconciled by his Maieſty*, ibid. *He and his wife ruling all, perſwades his Majeſty to go to* Sterling, *p.* 143. *He is Captain of the Caſtle and Provoſt of the Town*, ibid. *Adviſeth his Majeſty to ſend the Author Ambaſſador to Queen* Elizabeth, *intending thereby to enſnare him*, ibid. *Deſires a familiar Conference with Secretary* Walſingham, *who refuſeth it*, p. 148. *At which being incenſed he puts ſeveral Indignities upon him*, ibid. *Endeavours to be made Chancellor and Captain of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *p.* 152. *Uſeth his Craft to pervert the effect of the Convention*, ibid. *Retires diſcontented to the Caſtles of* Edinburgh *and* Sterling, *p.* 155. *His unworthy Carriage with many other particulars*, ibid. *Seizeth on* Gaury's *Lands, and divideth them among ſeveral others, upon condition they would aſſiſt him in the ruin of the ſaid* Gaury, *p.* 156. *Confers with the Earl of* Hunſdon, *on the Borders, and Plots with him ſecretly*, p. 158. *Grants all that is deſired at the Conference with the Earl of* Hunſdon *to procure Queen* Elizabeth's *friendſhip*, p. 161. *Is not courted by the* Daniſh *Ambaſſadors*, p. 163. *Whereupon he becomes their Enemy*, ibid. *Is in diſfavour at Court*, p. 166. *Impriſoned in St.* Andrews *Caſtle*, ibid. *Sends his Brother to the Maſter of* Gray, *promiſing a reward to procure his liberty*, p. 166. *Which he ſoon did*, ibid. *Is ordered to retire to his Houſe*, ibid. *Obtains liberty to return to Court*, p. 168. *Flies*, p. 169. *Comes again to Court*, p. 200. *Is ſhortly after kill'd by* James Douglas, *ibid.*

Stuart *Sir* William, *is Captain of* Dunbartoun, *p.* 129.

Suſſex *Earl*, *is ſent from* England *to* Berwick, *p.* 104. *Enters the* Merſe *with his Forces and takes the Caſtle of* Hume *and* Falhaſtle, *p.* 106. *Is ſent to* Scotland *upon the Birth of Prince* Henry *from Queen* Elizabeth, *p.* 203.

T

Taggot, *a Scientifical Man who prognoſticated the year of his own Death by Palmieſtry*, p. 13. *And dies at* Geneva *accordingly*, p. 14.

Throgmorton *Sir* Nicholas, *Ambaſſador from* England *to* France, *complains to the King and Council of the Queen of* Scotland's *new Uſurped Style and Arms*, p. 23. *But without ſucceſs*, ibid. *Acquaints Queen* Elizabeth *with it*, p. 29. *Is ſent Ambaſſador to* Scotland *to diſſwade Queen* Mary *from the Marriage with* Darnly, *p.* 56. *Owns, when return'd, the promiſes he had made to thoſe who would ſtop thoſe proceed-*

ings without fear of Queen or Council, p. *60. And comes off well*, ibid. *Is incenſed that he was an inſtrument to deceive the Baniſhed Lords, therefore adviſeth them to beg their Queens Pardon, and penn's a perſwaſive Letter to her Majeſty of* Scotland, *p. 60, 61, 62, and 63. A man of a deep reach, and great prudence, ſtudying the Union of both Kingdoms*, p. *98. Reconcileth the Duke and the Regent*, ibid.

Tulke Monſieur, *ſee* Broderode.

U

Villamonte, *a* French *Gentleman ſent to* Mary *Queen of* Scotland *to ſhew no favour to the Proteſtant Baniſhed Lords*, p. *63. A Device of Cardinal* Lorrains, *lately return'd from the Council of* Trent, ibid.

W

Wachop, *Patriarch af* Ireland, *p. 9. Went ſeveral times to* Rome *by Poſt tho blind*, ibid.

Walſingham *Sir* Francis, *is ſent to* Scotland, *p.* 147. *His Character*, ibid. *Is conveyed by the Author to St.* Johnſtoun, *ibid. Refuſeth to diſcourſe with any perſon about his Embaſſy, but his Majeſty, p.* 148. *Is much troubled at the Earl of* Arran'*s Court favour*, ibid. *Returns to* England *and dies*, ibid.

William *Biſhop of* Ely *and Dr.* Wotton *ſent Commiſſioners for Queen* Mary *in the Treaty of Peace at* Cambray *between* France *and* Spain, *p.* 22.

Wood John, *Secretary to* Murray *the Regent of* Scotland, *p. 95. Is deſired to preſs forward the Accuſation of the Queen of* Scotland, *p. 96. Produceth the Accuſation of Queen* Mary, *upon the deſire of* Cecil, *who delivered it upon conditions, p. 96, and 97. Which was ſnatcht from him by the biſhop of* Orkny, *who gave it in to the Council, p. 97. Procures all the Letters ſent from the Duke of* Norfolk *to his Maſter, which might tend to his ruin, p. 99. Is well rewarded for his pains*, ibid.

Worceſter *Earl, is ſent Ambaſſador from* England *to congratulate both their Majeſties of* Scotland. *p.* 182.

Norminſtoun, *kill'd at the ſeiſure of the Lords at* Sterling, *p.* 114.

Witches taken in Lauthian *who depoſe againſt the Earl* Bothwel, *p. 194. They diſcourſe with the Devil, his form and ſhape deſcribed, and are burnt*, ibid.

Wotton *Mr. ſent by Queen* Elizabeth *to King* James *as Ambaſſador, p. 158. His parts and qualifications, p. 159. His carriage in* France, *when very young, p. 159. 160, and 161. Brothers Son to Dr.* Wotten *Ambaſſador from* England *to* Spain, *p. 161. Fifty years old when he came into* Scotland, *ibid. Becomes one of his Majeſties Favourites, tho he did more prejudice to his Majeſty, as to his affairs, then any* Engliſhman *that arrived there before him*, ibid. *Is ſent thither to uſe all his wiles to diſturb the two Kings (namely of* Denmark *and* Scotland) *and their Countries*, p. *161, and 162. Viſits the* Daniſh *Ambaſſadors making large profers to lend them Gold and Silver, p. 162. But ſecretly incenſeth them with the Kings mean Opinion of their Maſter*, ibid. *Acquaints them that King* James *deſigned to affront them with delays, p. 163. Notwithſtanding his double dealing with the King, he gains his Majeſties Ear, p. 164. Makes a complaint to the King of the killing of Sir* Francis Ruſſel *on the Borders, p. 166. Which occaſioned the Earl of* Arran'*s Impriſonment*, ibid.

ibid. *Obtains with the aſſiſtance of his* Scotch *friends, the chief management of King* James's *Affairs*, p. 167. *His deſigns againſt the King defeated*, ibid. *Flies to* England *without taking leave of his Majeſty*, p. 168. *Perſwades the Noblemen of that nation, who were baniſhed into* England, *to return to their Native Country*, ibid. *His dangerous and circumventing Practices*, p. 171.

Wotton *Doctor, Ambaſſador from* Mary, *the Queen of* England, *who was Reſident there, when ſhe was married to* Philip *King of* Spain, p. 159.

Y

YOung Peter, *King* James's *Almoner, ſent Ambaſſadour to* Denmark, *p.* 167. *His Commiſſion*, ibid. *Returns with a friendly Anſwer*, p. 171. *Being very well contented with all Tranſactions there, and as well rewarded*, p. 176. *Is ſent again to* Denmark *with the Laird of* Barnbarrow *in Commiſſion*, ibid. *Returns, his Commiſſion being lookt upon by the King of* Denmark *as inſufficient*, 177. *Sent a third time with an Embaſſy to the* Daniſh *King, and the Dukes of* Mecklenburgh *And* Brunſwick, *upon the birth of Prince* Henry, 203. *Returns with the reward of three fair Chains*, ibid.

Yungland *Laird, the Author's Brother undertakes the Embaſſie to the King and Princeſs of* Navarre, 177. *Is well treated and rewarded*, ibid. *A Scholar and Linguiſt*, p. 178.

AN Alphabetical Interpretation OF ALL THE Scotiſh WORDS and PHRASES Contained in this HISTORY.

A

Aback, *to hold or keep back.*
Acceſſion, *Condeſcention.*
Alwiſe, *although.*
Anent, *about, concerning, as* there-anent, *concerning the ſame.*
Aſſize, *a Suit or Trial.*
Ay, *ſtill or ever.*

B

Banded, *joyned together, combining,*
Beſt, *as the next beſt way or courſe,*
Bond of Alliance, *a League or Truce.*
Brangled, *Turmoiled, Involv'd in Trouble.*
Burrough, *Burghers or Burgeſſes.*
By-gones, *all that is paſt.*

C

Caution *or* Cautioner, *Bail or Surety.*
Clan, *a Tribe or Family.*
Compear, *Appear.*
Comported, *Patiently, bore Patiently.*
Compts, *Accompts.*
Conform, *Agreeable or Suitable to.*
Conquer, *Credit, to gain Credit.*
Convoyance, *Conveyance.*
Counſelable, *one that is or will be Adviſed.*

D

Decourted, *diſcharged from the Court.*
Demiſſion, *laying down, or tranſferring to another.*
Devilry, *Deviliſhneſs or Deviliſh Tricks.*
Devotious, *addicted to, very favourable to.*
Ditty, *Doom or Damage.*
Down-caſting, *pulling down, or demoliſhing Houſes.*
Dunting, *the ſtunning of Hammers,* &c.

E

Effectuate, *effected or done.*
Emit, *ſend forth.*
Evangel, *the Goſpel.*
Evite, *Avoid.*

F

Factioners, *People of the Faction*
Faſhion, *as done for the faſhion, that is, done as uſual and cuſtomary.*
Forefault, *to find guilty in the abſence of a perſon.*
Forth-ſetting, *Advancement, Promotion.*
Fraudful, *Fraudulent, Deceitful.*

G

Gain-ſtand, *Withſtand.*

H

Hand writ, *hand-writing.*
Home-going, *returning home.*
Hoſtlaries, *Inns.*

I

Indwellers, *Inhabitants.*
Infeſtments, *Inheritance, Eſtate or Tenure.*
Ingeny, *Ingenuity or Wit.*
Juſtice Eyrs, *Juſtice Itinerant.*

L

Leave-taking, *bidding farewel.*
Leeſings, *Lyes or Lying Tricks.*
Liberate, *free, at liberty.*
Logh, *a watry ſloughy place.*
Longſom, *Tedious.*

M

Manyeſt, *the major part, the moſt.*
Miſcontent, *Diſcontent.*
Miſconſtructed, *Miſ-interpreted.*
Miſgave, *Miſcarried.*
Miſſives, *Letters.*
Moſtly, *for the moſt part.*
Moyen, *Means or Courſe.*

N

Noticed, *Manifeſted.*

O

Octavians, *Eight Lords appointed to govern* Scotland.
Onwaiter, *an Attendant.*
Oultmoſt, *laſt or utmoſt.*
Outgate, *a Way or Means.*
Out-taking, *freeing from Priſon.*

P

Practiſed, *dealt or laboured with to be brought over to a Party.*
Perilled, *Endangered.*
Perturbed, *diſturbed.*
Prejudged, *Forejudged.*
Procedure, *Proceedings.*
To Proceſs,, *to Sue.*
Proponed, *Propoſed.*

R

Refuſe, *as he cauſed refuſe,* i. e. *he made them deny it.*
Regrated, *Regretted, inwardly lamented or grieved for.*
Righteous Heir, *True Heir.*

S

Salutary, *wholeſom, healthful, healing.*
Skittering, *skittiſh, finical, ſilly.*
Signatures, *written inſtruments to be ſigned.*
Steadable, *firm, that will ſtand one in ſtead, available.*
Stormſted, *driven by Tempeſt into a Port or Harbour.*
To Suit, *to beg or requeſt.*

T

Time-coming. *for the future or time to come.*
Timouſly, *in good or due time.*
Tolerance, *Toleration, Permiſſion.*

V

Vengeable, *Revengeful.*
Volt, *as a merry volt, a merry pleaſant countenance.*
Unfriends, *Enemies.*
Unwonable, *not to be won or courted to ſide with a Party.*
Uptaking, *compoſing, or taking up a buſineſs or difference.*

W

Ward, *or* Warding, *Impriſonment.*
Wel of Affairs, *the good or promotion of buſineſs.*
While by-gone, *a long or conſiderable time ſince or paſt.*
Whinger, *a* Scottiſh *Sword, commonly called Whinyard.*
Wrongouſly, *injuriouſly or wrongfully.*

A Catalogue *of ſome Books Printed for, and to be Sold by* Robert Boulter *at the* Turk's-Head *in* Corn-hill, 1683.

Folio.

BIſhop *Reynolds*'s Works.
Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, from 1560 to 1625.
Ruſhworth's Collections, Firſt Vol.
——His Second Volume.
Pharmacopœa Londinenſis.
Sturmy's Magazine.
Curia Politiæ ——
Rea's *Flora.*

Quarto.

Durham on the *Revelations.*
Baxter's Saints Reſt.
Owen of Juſtification.
Origen contra Marchionet.
Charles the Eighth, A Play.
Leſley Hiſtoria Scotorum.
Man of Sin.
Lightfoot on *Lucan.*
Dr. *Charleton's* Anatom. Lectures.
Flavel's Husbandry.
Boys's Sermons.
Prynn's Power of Parliaments.
Burnet's *Theſaurus.*
Behm's Remains.
Manley of Uſury.
Brown againſt *Quakers.*
Seamans Calendar.
Mariners Calender.
Seamans Practiſe.
Norwood's *Trigonometria.*

Large Octavo.

Pool's Nullity.
Wilſon's Scriptures.
Durham of Scandal.
Dr. *Trapham*'s Treatiſe of *Jamaica.*
Cloud of Witneſſes.
Rutherford's *Examen.*
Sclater of Grace.
Bayfield De Capitis.
Danvers of Baptiſm.
Flavel's Two Treatiſes.
——His Preparation for ſufferings.

Small Octavo.

Wars of *Hungary.*
Hiſtory of Jewels.
Moral Gallantry.
Flavel's Saint Indeed.
——Token for Mourners.
Roma Reſtituta.
Curious Diſtillatory.
Hiſtory of *Japan* and *Siam.*
Looking-Glaſs for Children.
Hugh's Diſpenſations.
Religio Stoici.
Petton on the Covenant.
Queens Wells.
Moreland of Intereſt.
Miltoni Logica.
Grey of Faith.
Sydenham's Works.
Ruſhworth's *Solomons* Remembrace.
Gale's *Idea.*
Binning's Miſcellanies.
Kirkwood's *Gramatica.*
Norwood's Epitomy.
Gellibrand's Epitomy.

FINIS.

81